This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

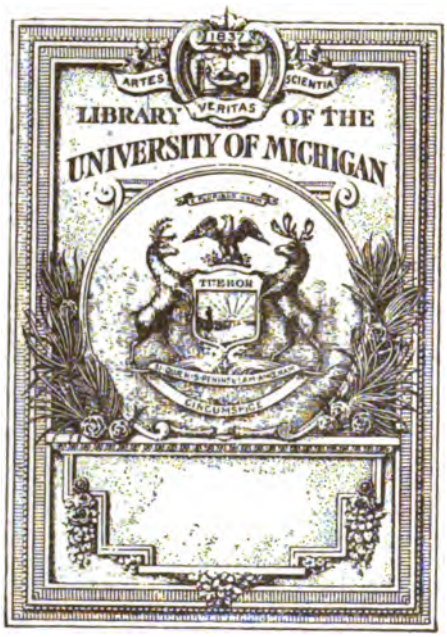
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

a39015 00030755 6b

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

DS
133
M55

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE MENORAH JOURNAL

Published Bi-monthly by
The Intercollegiate Menorah Association
"For the Study and Advancement of Jewish Culture and Ideals"

VOLUME FIVE
1919

NEW YORK, U. S. A.
INTERCOLLEGIATE MENORAH ASSOCIATION
600 MADISON AVENUE
1919

Digitized by Google

FROM the Editorial Statement in the first number of THE MENORAH JOURNAL:

"For conceived as it is and nurtured as it must continue to be in the spirit that gave birth to the Menorah idea, THE MENORAH JOURNAL *is under compulsion to be absolutely non-partisan, an expression of all that is best in Judaism and not merely of some particular sect or school or locality or group of special interests; fearless in telling the truth; promoting constructive thought rather than aimless controversy; animated with the vitality and enthusiasm of youth; harking back to the past that we may deal more wisely with the present and the future; recording and appreciating Jewish achievement, not to brag, but to bestir ourselves to emulation and to deepen the consciousness of* noblesse oblige; *striving always to be sane and level-headed; offering no opinions of its own, but providing an orderly platform for the discussion of mooted questions that really matter; dedicated first and foremost to the fostering of the Jewish humanities and the furthering of their influence as a spur to human service."*

Copyright, 1919, by The Intercollegiate Menorah Association
All rights reserved.

Digitized by Google

GENERAL LIBRARY
MAR 15 1919
UNIV. OF MICH.

THE MENORAH JOURNAL

VOLUME V
No. 1

FEBRUARY
1919

Jewish Hopes at the Peace Table . . . JULIAN W. MACK
By the Chairman of the American Jewish Delegation to the Peace Conference

The Choice Before Jewry . . . . THOMAS NIXON CARVER

Is a Jewish State Desirable? . . . SIR CHARLES WALSTON

The Nobler Nationalism of a Jewish State . . . . . C. DELISLE BURNS

"Rischon Le-Zion, Rosch-Pinah, Dagania"
A Poem . . . . . MARTIN FEINSTEIN

Freud: Discoverer of a New World . . . A. A. ROBACK

The Ideal Rabbi . . . . . ELLIOT E. COHEN

Five Hundred Years of Yiddish Poetry . ISAAC GOLDBERG

The Pageant of New York Jewry
MARVIN M. LOWENTHAL

The Menorah Educational Conference
With a Memorandum on Menorah Education, by Chancellor Henry Hurwitz

PUBLISHED BY THE INTERCOLLEGIATE MENORAH ASSOCIATION
600 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK -:- -:- -:- 35 CTS. A COPY

Digitized by Google

The Basis of Reconstruction Work is Footwear

Correct in Cut and Fit

Do you know how much spring and energy are contributed to your walk by a shoe with a flexible arch, a snug-fitting heel and a natural shape fore-part?

If you do, we are sure that you will accept no other service shoe in place of our famous "Orpic" last.

If you do not, come and let us convince you that

Our Orpic Shoes Give You

1. An arch as high as that which accompanies a Louis heel.
2. A sensible leather heel, for easy walking.
3. Firm support at the instep, owing to the high flexible arch.
4. Ample room for the toes, owing to the natural shape.
5. Comfort in standing and walking. Ideal also for motor driving.

In Black or Tan

High Boots $10.00 Storm Boots $12.00 Oxfords $9.00

Best & Co.

Fifth Avenue at 35th Street
New York

You Never Pay More at Best's

Kindly mention The Menorah Journal when writing to advertisers

Digitized by Google

The Menorah Journal, February, 1919. Published bi-monthly by Intercollegiate Menorah Association, 600 Madison Ave., New York. $2.00 per year. Entered as second-class matter January 6, 1915, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

INDEX

TO VOLUME V OF THE MENORAH JOURNAL
FEBRUARY-DECEMBER, 1919

Authors' names in SMALL CAPITALS; titles of articles in *italics*.

ABRAHAMS, ISRAEL: *Some Pharisaic Delicacies* ..... (Aug.) 196
A. E. F. Menorah in France, The (Oct.-Dec.) 299
American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem ..... (June) 171
ASCH, SHOLOM: *What I Saw in Lithuania* ..... (Oct.-Dec.) 253

BARUCH, S.: *"Whither?"*..... (June) 121
BAYER, JEROME H.: *The Future of Jewish Music* ..... (April) 109
Blasco Ibanez and the Jews.... (Aug.) 234
Book of Job on the Stage, The (Apr.) 104
"Book of the Nations, The" (Oct.-Dec.) 296
BURNS, C. DELISLE: *The Nobler Nationalism of a Jewish State* (Feb.) 18

"Carrier of Life, The"..... (Apr.) 115
CARVER, THOMAS NIXON: *The Choice Before Jewry* ..... (Feb.) 8
Choice Before Jewry, The..... (Feb.) 8
COHEN, ELLIOT E.: *The Ideal Rabbi* (Feb.) 33
Colloques Comiques: Poems... (Aug.) 213

Diaspora, In the Hope of the New (Aug.) 185

ELIOT, CHARLES W.: *The Jewish Contribution to Modern Social Ethics* (June) 149

FEINSTEIN, MARTIN: Poems:
Colloques Comiques ..... (Aug.) 213
Ordeal, The ..... (Oct.-Dec.) 268
"Rischon Le-Zion, Rosch-Pinah, Dagania" ..... (Feb.) 23
Shir Ha-Shirim ..... (June) 152
Five Hundred Years of Yiddish Poetry ..... (Feb.) 40
FLEXNER, HORTENSE: *If God Had Known*: A Poem..... (Oct.-Dec.) 279
Freud: Discoverer of a New World (Feb.) 24
Future of Jewish Music, The... (Apr.) 109

"Gentle Cynic, A": Review of (Oct.-Dec.) 292
GOLDBERG, ISAAC: *Blasco Ibanez and the Jews* ..... (Aug.) 234
Five Hundred Years of Yiddish Poetry ..... (Feb.) 40

Hebrew Poets as Historians, The (Oct.-Dec.) 269
HERFORD, R. TRAVERS: *What the World Owes to the Pharisees* (June) 137, (Aug.) 203
HURWITZ, HENRY: *Memorandum on Menorah Education* ..... (Feb.) 53

Ibanez: see *Blasco Ibanez*..... (Feb.) 53
Ideal Rabbi, The..... (Feb.) 53
If God Had Known: A Poem (Oct.-Dec.) 279
In the Hope of the New Diaspora (Aug.) 185
ISAACS, NATHAN: *In the Hope of the New Diaspora* ..... (Aug.) 185
Is a Jewish State Desirable? (Feb.) 12

Jew as Autobiographer, The.... (June) 175
Jewish Contribution to Modern Social Ethics, The ..... (June) 149
"Jewish Contributions to Civilization" (Oct.-Dec.) 288
Jewish Hopes at the Peace Table (Feb.) 1
Jewish Music: *see* BAYER, REIDER.
Jewish State: *see* BURNS, WALSTON.
Job, The Book of—
As a Greek Tragedy..... (Apr.) 93
On the Stage..... (Apr.) 104
Judaism as a World Religion (Oct.-Dec.) 241

Digitized by Google

385738

KUHN, ARTHUR K.: *Religious Liberty and the Peace Conference*..(Apr.) 78

LEVENSOHN, LOTTA: *"The Book of the Nations"* .....(Oct.-Dec.) 296

Lithuania, What I Saw In (Oct.-Dec.) 253

LOWENTHAL, MARVIN M.: *The Pageant of New York Jewry*.....(Feb.) 46

MACHT, DAVID I.: *"The Carrier of Life"* .....(Apr.) 115

MACK, JULIAN W.: *Jewish Hopes at the Peace Table*.....(Feb.) 1

Memorandum on Menorah Education (Feb.) 53

Menorah Educational Conference (Feb.) 52

MILLER, JOEL L.: *The A. E. F. Menorah in France* .....(Oct.-Dec.) 299

Mistaken Hypothesis, A.....(Apr.) 97

MONTEFIORE, CLAUDE G.: *Judaism as a World Religion*.....(Oct.-Dec.) 241

MONTGOMERY, JAMES A.: *The American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem* .....(June) 171

MORGENSTERN, JULIAN: *World-Empire and World Brotherhood*....(Apr.) 82

MURRAY, GILBERT: *Job as a Greek Tragedy* .....(Apr.) 93

MUSIC, Jewish: *see* BAYER, REIDER.

New Publications of Interest....(June) 178

New York Jewry, The Pageant of (Feb.) 46

Nobler Nationalism of a Jewish State, The .....(Feb.) 18

NYBURG, SIDNEY L.: *David Pinski's "Temptations"* .....(Oct.-Dec.) 295

Ordeal, The: A Poem.....(Oct.-Dec.) 268

Pageant of New York Jewry, The (Feb) 46

Palestine Land Program, The..(June) 161

Peace Conference: *see* KUHN, MACK. —also *Zionism.*

Pharisees: *see* ABRAHAMS, HERFORD.

PINSKI DAVID: *Poland—1919*..(Aug.) 179

"Temptations," Review of (Oct.-Dec.) 295

Poland—1919 .....(Aug.) 179

RADIN, MAX: *A Mistaken Hypothesis* (Apr.) 97

"A Gentle Cynic".....(Oct.-Dec.) 292

REIDER, JOSEPH: *A Revival of Jewish Music*....(Aug.) 218, (Oct.-Dec.) 280

Religion and Nationality (June) 154, (Aug.) 226

Religious Liberty and the Peace Conference .....(Apr.) 78

Revival of Jewish Music, A (Aug.) 218), (Oct.-Dec.) 280

"Rischon Le-Zion, Rosch Pinah, Dagania": A Poem.....(Feb.) 23

ROBACK, A. A.: *Freud: Discoverer of a New World* .....(Feb.) 24

"Jewish Contributions to Civilization" .....(Oct.-Dec.) 288

ROSENBLATT, BERNARD A.: *The Palestine Land Program*.....(June) 161

SALAMAN, NINA: *The Hebrew Poets as Historians* .....(Oct.-Dec.) 269

SALPETER, HARRY: *The Jew as Autobiographer* .....(June) 175

Shir Ha-Shirim: A Poem.....(June) 152

SIMON, LEON: *Religion and Nationality* (June) 154, (Aug.) 226

Some Pharisaic Delicacies.....(Aug.) 196

Territorial Solution of the Jewish Problem, The .....(Apr.) 59

WALKER, STUART: *The Book of Job on the Stage*.....(Apr.) 104

WALSTON, SIR CHARLES: *Is a Jewish State Desirable?* .....(Feb.) 12

What I Saw in Lithuania..(Oct.-Dec.) 253

What the World Owes to the Pharisees (June) 137, (Aug.) 203

"Whither?" .....(June) 121

World-Empire and World Brotherhood (Apr.) 82

Yiddish Poetry: *see* GOLDBERG.

ZANGWILL, ISRAEL: *The Territorial Solution of the Jewish Problem* (Apr.) 59

Zionism:
See BURNS, CARVER, ISAACS, MACK, ROSENBLATT, WALSTON, ZANGWILL.

Digitized by Google

THE
MENORAH JOURNAL
VOLUME V FEBRUARY, 1919 NUMBER 1

Jewish Hopes at the Peace Table

By Julian W. Mack
Chairman of the Delegation from the American Jewish Congress to the Peace Conference

NO one can positively foretell what the Peace Conference is going to do with reference to "Jewish Rights." But we have our hopes, our aspirations and our aims, and we know that these have met with the most sympathetic response and approval at the hands of all of the allied powers. So we feel certain that when the representatives of the Jews of these allied countries appear before the American representatives at the Peace Conference, or before the Peace Conference itself, if that privilege is granted to them, their requests will be addressed to sympathetic ears, and they will find a readiness never before equalled in the history of the world to devise ways and means by which at last the rights that are due to the Jew shall be accorded to him. And in this cause, we American Jews are pursuing no selfish purposes. We ask nothing for ourselves. All that any Jew can ask has been accorded to us as to every other citizen in this free land of western civilization. We go to speak for the people from whom we have sprung, for the stock of which we are a part, for our brethren in Eastern and in Central Europe who heretofore have been denied all of the rights, not merely that a people may request and expect, but that every human individual is entitled to.

The Jews of America have cheerfully and splendidly responded to the appeal to relieve the material wants of their afflicted brethren in the War Zone. New York Jewry alone has just raised $5,000,000, as it did a

JUDGE JULIAN W. MACK speaks with threefold authority in the address here presented,—as President of the American Jewish Congress, head of its delegation to the Peace Conference, and President of the Zionist Organization of America. Born in San Francisco in 1866, and educated in the schools of Cincinnati and at Harvard, Berlin, and Leipzig, he has served as professor of law at Northwestern and Chicago Universities, and as Judge of the Juvenile Court, Commerce Court, and U. S. Circuit Court (since 1911). He has distinguished himself by his activity in humane causes and his leadership in social welfare, philanthropy, and civic betterment. He has encouraged the Menorah movement from its beginning, and has served as Honorary Vice-Chairman of its Board of Governors.

Digitized by Google

year ago, and the rest of the country's Jewish population, with the assistance and help of many non-Jews, has raised an additional five to ten million dollars the past two years for this purpose. That money, it need hardly be said, is essential. It was necessary, in dealing with the afflicted Jews in the Eastern war region, that a Jewish War Relief Fund should be created, because in most of those lands, unlike our wonderful country, and that of our western allies, the Jew was never accorded full and equal rights; not even a proportionate share in the world's philanthropic offerings. The cry of the widow and the orphan and the homeless and the hungry always meets with a splendid answer from every Jew, and it is not surprising that American Jewry met the demand made upon it for this material aid as it always has met and always will meet similar demands.

What Rights Do We Hope to Attain?

IN the same week that the noble record of the last great relief fund was being written in letters of gold, there was a still more important event that marked an epoch in the history of the Jews. That was the assembling of the first American Jewish Congress. There were gathered together four hundred men and women; three hundred of them elected democratically from every section of the country by their fellow Jews; the remaining hundred appointed as representatives by the national Jewish Organizations. Two or three organizations, not entirely negligible in the number of their membership, or in their religious zeal, were absent. It is sad, it is pitiable that in these days of Jewish suffering, any Jews or Jewish organizations should so misunderstand the implications of this Congress, the problem of Palestine and the demands for Jewish rights in Europe; and it is still more pitiable that these misunderstandings should be due in part to fear—fear lest the patriotism of the American Jew may be suspected or assailed—a selfish fear that deters some American Jews from standing up and working in the light of day for the just demands of their brethren in the lands of oppression. I care not how honestly anti-Zionistic these dissenters may be, or how loyal their Americanism—so long as they participate in the utterly false representation that Zionism is antagonistic to full-fledged unalloyed Americanism, they are disloyal to their people and to their religion. And against their patriotism as American citizens, I am ready to measure and to compare before any impartial tribunal the sturdy, exclusive, unqualified Americanism of any true American Zionist. The aims and aspirations of the Zionists were never misunderstood by the non-Jew. The charge of lack of patriotism is not made by the non-Jews of any land against the Zionist; that charge comes only from some of our brethren deluded by their fears.

What then are we seeking at the Peace Congress? What "rights" does the American Jewish Congress hope to obtain by sending a delegation

Digitized by Google

to Europe to work in co-operation with the world's Zionist Organization and with representatives of Jewish organizations from all of our co-belligerent lands? Two rights, to put it briefly: justice for the Jewish people as a whole through the re-establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jew; justice for the Jew in all of those lands of eastern Europe and the newer countries that are to be recognized at the Peace Congress—justice for the Jew in those lands in which justice has heretofore been denied to him.

Are these worthy objects or unworthy? Should the Jew bow his head in shame for striving to secure them? Should the Jew attempt to hide these aims from the world? Should they excite fear on the part of any man and especially any Jew? Let us examine them, and see what they involve.

The Lesson of the Roumanian Flaw

ONE of these two claims directly affects the larger number of Jews—the Jews of eastern and of central Europe. Rights have been asked for them before. At the Peace Congress of 1878, when the kingdom of Roumania was established, it was understood that citizenship had finally been secured for the Jew in Roumania. It was thought that the Powers had imposed this as an express condition to the creation of the Roumanian kingdom. It was believed that all Roumanian Jews—the ancestors of many of whom had been inhabitants of that land for centuries—would attain full and equal rights with their fellow Roumanians. The clause guaranteeing this was faultily worded. The Powers that entered into that treaty, limited as they were by the independent rights of each sovereign state, not having at their command what we sincerely hope the world will have henceforth, a League of Nations, felt themselves unable to compel Roumania to live up to the full measure of the obligation assumed by her not merely to the Roumanian Jews but to the signatory nations. Hence, but the smallest fraction of Roumanian Jewry attained to citizenship, while the vast majority for the past forty years have been condemned to the position of aliens in their motherland—men and women without a country. That is a condition of such rank injustice that the whole civilized world should blush with shame that it has been unable to correct it. That is a condition that will not be permitted to continue hereafter in Roumania if the Jews are able to obtain from the Powers the hoped for recognition of their rights—nor will it be permitted to begin in any of the new or enlarged states of Europe.

This is the first essential demand of the Jew for his brethren—equal civil, political, and religious rights in every land. But it is true that the resolutions of the Jewish Congress and the cry of the Jew in Eastern

Digitized by Google

Europe go beyond this. He asks for equal civil, religious, political, and *national* rights in those countries. And it may properly be asked what do we mean by national rights.

Why the Jews Must Have National Rights in Certain Lands

ARE we not content here in America with absolute equality of the individual before the law? Do we ask any national rights for the American Jew, for the English Jew, for the French Jew? Then why ask it for the Czecho-Slovak, or the Roumanian, or the Polish, or the Jugo-Slavic Jew? Of course we ask no such rights in the countries of western civilization. Their entire make-up and political structure is totally unlike that of the countries of Eastern Europe. This country has grown up in the traditions of English liberty, of Anglo-Saxon freedom; no man wants to change it. This country of ours is unique in the history of the world. Here are gathered together representatives of fifty or more different stocks or peoples, all working together, all coalesced into one great people, the American nation. But let us not forget that history has developed differently in other lands. Let us not attempt illiberally to impose our American political conceptions upon the peoples of Eastern Europe. Let us rather look at their situation from their own point of view—observe how they treat the various peoples within their realm, and then let us ask for the Jews—always recognized in these countries of Eastern Europe as a distinct group—only the same rights that each of the other groups, called in Eastern countries nationalities, are there accorded. In other words, free and equal rights means free and equal rights according to the customs of the country in which they are demanded. In those countries that look only to the individual, we of course ask only free and equal civil, political, and religious individual rights. But in countries that are divided into groups, each of which has a separate language, independent schools, and a distinct culture, there surely equality of right demands that the Jews, there recognized as a distinct group, should have exactly the same group rights, there described as national rights, that each of the other groups has.

An expression of opinion on this point which is of great significance was made recently by a true friend of the Jew, although he was not speaking primarily of the Jewish problem—President Thomas G. Masaryk of the new Czecho-Slovak State. No one in high position has stood up more stoutly for the human rights of the Jews in the Austro-Hungarian Empire at a time of personal danger to himself than Professor Masaryk—not only now but for more than a quarter of a century. Dr. Masaryk is himself a Bohemian—a Czech. And he is President of the Mid-European Union that met at Independence Hall and drafted resolutions recognizing minority

Digitized by Google

group or national rights in all of these newer countries of eastern and central Europe. German Bohemia, he declared, is of course a part of the Czecho-Slovak State, its people are citizens of that State; but we have no thought of making Czechs out of the Germans; we recognize their minority group right; we recognize their right to their language, their schools, and their church, and in the Czecho-Slovak State that right of minority groups will always be respected and protected. He made the same declaration concerning the rights of the Jewish people in his country and in those countries of eastern Europe in which from time immemorial the Jewish people have been recognized as a separate and distinct group—countries where three or four, perhaps five distinct groups, not fifty as in this country, have always lived together, formed one state, but each with its own distinct and separate ideals, culture, literature, and education. And he fully recognized and declared that for the realization and protection of these minority rights, minority political representation in the councils and administration of the State and the municipalities was essential.

If the American Jew were animated by selfishness and fear, he would keep his hands off this problem and would let these groups of people in foreign lands struggle for themselves. But if the American Jew, true to his ancestry, true to himself as a man, is ready to stand up for the oppressed of every nationality, color, or creed in every part of the world, how can he remain silent when his own brethren in eastern Europe are in danger of being denied that equality which for all other groups in those lands is an unqualified right? He would have to abdicate his manhood, if he feared to stand for his own brethren, for the incontestable principle of the right of the Jewish people everywhere to equality of states, a principle with which the delegation of the American Jewish Congress found President Wilson, as it expects to find the leaders of the Allied Powers, fully sympathetic.

What We Really Want in Palestine

AND now as to the second problem—Palestine. What is it that we want there, and what is it that some fear? The problem seems so simple to those who have been dealing with it for years that it is even difficult to explain. It is difficult certainly to comprehend the doubts and fears of the *antis*. We do not want an independent State for the Jewish people in Palestine *at this time*. And why not? Because at this time the Jews form only one-sixth of the population, and an independent State under such conditions would be both impracticable and undesirable. We are entirely content that the land shall now be placed by the League of Nations under the trusteeship of Great Britain, with the obligation there to lay the foundations of and, by proper land and immigration laws and

Digitized by Google

administration, to promote the development of the Jewish Commonwealth. Only when the Jews shall be in the majority will they be ready for the Jewish Commonwealth. Shall it then begin as a Home Rule commonwealth or shall it at once become an absolutely independent sovereign small State? Shall it ever be an independent State, one of the sovereign States of the world? Who knows? In the course of years, perhaps—in the course of decades, as civilization evolves out of the present chaos, it may or it may not be desirable that the world shall be divided into a great number of small states. It may or may not be desirable that the world shall be divided into a few great states, each the trustee or the protector of a number of smaller commonwealths within their empires. No man can know. No man can foresee what the future may bring. We are now concerned with the immediate problem.

The age-long dream of the Jew, the prayer of the Orthodox, has been that the Jewish people may be reestablished in Palestine. What this means is not that all Jews should be gathered there—the land would not hold them—or that any Jew shall be driven out of his home. But simply that those Jews who for any reason have the pioneering spirit to refound their people—one of the glories of the world, shall be able to do so; that it shall be made possible again for this people to flower as a nation or a commonwealth, not merely for the benefit of the Jew but for the benefit of all humanity; a people which when gathered together in earlier days on this soil—not a majority of the Jews of the world but simply a nucleus—evolved and created those fundamental principles of religion, of ethics, of morals, of social justice, on which our entire civilization is based; a people scattered for two thousand years and yet having within itself the vital spark that preserved it throughout centuries of oppression the like of which the world has never seen. With such a past and with the demonstration they have made in the past thirty-five years through their sixty Palestinian colonies—oases in the deserts of Asia Minor—and that miracle, the re-creation of a dead language as the living tongue of the whole community, the Jewish people may be trusted, when gathered together again in their homeland, to bring forth the higher fruits for the benefit of all mankind.

There Is Nothing Un-American In Our Program

IN the light of these facts, should we American Jews, because of the splendid opportunities we have here in our own country or because we are afraid of being misunderstood, hold ourselves aloof from this eternal cry of our brethren for a regained Palestine? Should we stand apart and say to them—You are endangering us—this small group in America. Assuredly not, even if there were some danger of being misunderstood. But

Digitized by Google

in fact, if there be any danger, it comes not from our thinking non-Jewish fellow-citizens, but from a few of our own Jewish brethren.

The restoration of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine was merely a fond dream, a vision, up to a year ago. It was not in the political platform of any of the governments of the world. It was the cry of the downtrodden Jew. It was the hope of the prosperous Jew who heard and did not refuse to listen to that cry. All of this is changed since November 2, 1917, when the Government of Great Britain published the Balfour Declaration "that it viewed with favor the re-establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine." When the other allied nations seconded this declaration and the Pope gave it his endorsement and at last the leader of all humanity at this day, Woodrow Wilson, although he could not declare himself officially, because we were not at war with Turkey, expressed his deepest sympathy with the Zionist aims and movement, it became more than probable that at this Peace Congress, with the establishment of the League of Nations, the age-long dream of the Jew would come true. And when President Wilson stated on March 2d, 1919, to the delegates from the American Jewish Congress, "I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our government and people, are agreed that in Palestine should be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth," all doubts were dispelled. The Jewish people, through a nucleus of them, will be re-established in Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth under one of the great powers—most likely Great Britain, through whose arms Palestine has been wrested from the oppression of the Turk.

And when this national home for the Jewish people is established, what will be the relations of the American citizens of the Jewish stock, of English subjects, and of all the other Jews in the other countries of the world, to this Commonwealth? Politically, nothing. We are Americans politically, and nothing but Americans. There is no dual nationality in any political sense; there can be none. We look to Palestine for nothing. We look to America for everything. But when our brethren, descendants of our ancestors, inheritors of the same traditions, the same civilization, the same culture, shall again bring forth the highest values for civilization, as we trust and hope they will, we of the kinship will be the spreaders of that civilization among the peoples of the world. Surely there is nothing selfish about that. Surely there is nothing harmful in this for us or for our American fellow-citizens. Surely in this program there is no cause for fear.

Digitized by Google

The Choice Before Jewry

By Thomas Nixon Carver

ONE does not need to be a prophet to see that this is a critical time in the history of Zionism. For the first time in many centuries, Palestine has passed into the hands of a liberal power. So long as it was in the hands of the unspeakable Turk no Jewish colony was safe. "Where the Turk's horse treads no grass grows." The Turk has polluted and sterilized everything which he has ever touched. Nor would a Jewish colony have been safe under the dominion of the equally unspeakable Hohenzollern, with his "scrap of paper" theory of the sanctity of treaties and solemn compacts.

THOMAS NIXON CARVER, whose reputation as a sociologist as well as an economist is nationwide, has been Professor of Political Economy at Harvard since 1902. He was born in Iowa in 1865, and educated at University of Southern California, Cornell and Johns Hopkins. In addition to authoritative text-books on economics and sociology, he is the author of "Essays in Social Justice" and "The Religion Worth Having." He has taken an interest in Jewish questions for many years.

Not only is Palestine in the hands of a liberal power with at least some elementary notion of honesty and decency, but there are certain to be profound and far-reaching readjustments, not only in the social life, and in the political geography of the world, but also in the redistribution of the population of the world as the result of the war. Since the conquests of Alexander the Great, no such disturbance of the tides of human migration has taken place as that which came when the Turk burst into the Western arena. It was this which forced Europe to face about,—to turn from the East to the West. It was this which sent Columbus westward in search of an ocean route to the Indies, and the consequent discovery of America. But for this, Bishop Berkeley's line, "Westward the Star of Empire takes its way" would never have been written.

"Eastward Ho!"—the New Cry of the Day

THE occupation of America with at least a partial development of her resources, the Monroe Doctrine standing as it does in the way of the territorial expansion of European powers in this direction, the fact that people from northern Europe have already practically stopped coming to

Digitized by Google

this country, and the increasing tendency of the American governments toward the restriction of immigration all indicate that the day is approaching when the westward movement of European peoples must stop. On the other hand there are untold natural resources awaiting development in the East. Russia is scarcely touched; the development of Asia Minor has been held in suspense by the Turk; Syria and Mesopotamia, once the home of vast populations and the seat of great civilizations, have become almost depopulated for no visible reason except the bad government of the Turk. Mesopotamia alone is full of the ruins of vast irrigation systems and is said to have had an area equal to the whole of England under cultivation at one time. Barring the Turk, eastward rather than westward lies the opportunity of Europe today.

Germany had already faced about before she started the war. For years she had been looking for an outlet eastward. The apparent power of Russia made expansion in a direct line eastward look expensive. It looked cheaper to expand through Turkey into Mesopotamia. Now that Russia has collapsed and England holds the head of the Persian Gulf and a part of Mesopotamia, it will be cheaper to expand directly eastward into Russia. Disorganized Russia, with the dominant element in her population already in league with Prussia, can no more resist the eastward expansion of German farmers and business men than the American Indians could have resisted our expansion westward across this continent. Germany no longer has any use for the Turk and is no longer able to offer him any protection.

A Propitious Time for a Great Jewish Commonwealth

WITH all these factors of the problem in mind, it looks as though this was a most propitious time for the establishment of a great Jewish commonwealth. There is one factor, however, which is still undetermined. One of the issues of this war is the question of the right of small nations to self-determination. So long as the doctrine is tolerated that the small nations are the legitimate prey of the large nations, no Jewish commonwealth would be safe for a day. Since the liberal powers have gained a decisive victory, and the world is made safe not only for democracy but also for small nations, Zionism has become a practical possibility. Until that event, all Zionist activities might as well have been held in suspense because they could never have amounted to anything. Any one who pretended to be a Zionist and was not definitely against the Turco-Teutonic Powers and ideals was either a fool or a scoundrel.

Assuming that Palestine and the neighboring countries of Syria and Mesopotamia are to be definitely and forever freed from the damnation of Turkish misrule, and that the world is to be made safe for small and weak nations, have the Jews a sufficient motive for attempting to build a

Digitized by Google

great Jewish commonwealth? It must be admitted that, from the standpoint of physical comfort, most of them would be better off where they now are than they could possibly hope to be for the first generation or so in Palestine. Building a new nation on new soil requires pioneering, and pioneering is hard work. It involves muscular fatigue, meagre and coarse fare, exposure, and considerable bodily discomfort. A weak and effeminate race will naturally shrink from these trials, preferring to stand the mental and spiritual hardships of great Gentile cities rather than the physical hardships of an outdoor, pioneer life in a new and undeveloped country. A strong, vigorous and virile race would choose otherwise. Doubtless both types are found among the Jews and another sifting process is ahead of them similar to the siftings which took place at several times in the past. They who prefer one kind of hardship to another will choose accordingly and only a saving remnant will choose to respond to the call of Zionism.

For those who elect to remain scattered throughout the Gentile world there are four and only four alternatives. These are, amalgamation, race hostility, occupational separation and partial territorial separation. They must choose among these four because there is no fifth.

The Choice for the Jews "Outside": Amalgamation or Race Hostility

NO race or group of people can maintain its distinctness and remain unamalgamated in the midst of another race or group of people without race hostility. If they lose their hostility toward or contempt for the other race their young people will intermarry with the young people of the other race unless, indeed, the young people of the other race refuse, and that would be impossible unless there was hostility or contempt on their side. On whichever side the hostility and contempt start, they are certain to be reciprocated by the other side. If it disappears on both sides, intermarriage and amalgamation are inevitable. This means, in a few generations, the loss of racial or group identity.

A certain mutual dislike is the only possible defense, in a free country, against the amalgamation of equal races. When that dislike disappears, amalgamation is only a matter of a few generations.

They who elect to reject the call of Zionism must therefore do one of two things,—they must disappear through amalgamation, or they must keep alive and endure race hostility. If they elect to keep themselves distinct, the hostility may be somewhat softened by two devices; one is occupational separation, thereby avoiding economic competition with members of the surrounding race; and the other is partial territorial separation. (Zionism is complete territorial separation.)

Digitized by Google

Two Ways in Which Race Hostility May Be Softened

OCCUPATIONAL separation of race verges on a system of caste. When certain occupations are set apart exclusively for the members of one race, and other occupations reserved for members of another race, the members of the two races will not compete with one another and the race hostility is softened. But where there is no occupational separation and the members of the two races, living in the same territory, compete directly with one another, the race hostility is always intensified.

Where there is no occupational separation, some degree of territorial separation is always found necessary in order to keep the peace. The Ghetto and the Pale are examples of partial territorial separation. Without amalgamation, these expedients have proved to be necessary in order to soften the race hostility. Trying to maintain racial distinctness while living intermingled has been found to be an impossibility. If Jews and Gentiles live intermingled they will either intermarry and amalgamate, or they will be compelled to develop race hostility as a defense against amalgamation. There is no other defense under those conditions.

Partial territorial separation is only a partial defense. The only complete defense is complete territorial separation. Under this condition the opportunities for amalgamation are cut off. The races can remain distinct without hostility.

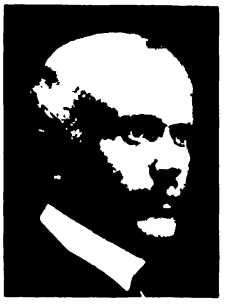
Whether it is desirable for the Jew to maintain his distinctness,—to keep himself separated racially from the rest of the world,—is for him to say. All I can say is that if he deems it desirable he must pay the cost. The cost is the cost of the defenses against amalgamation. The defenses against amalgamation are race hostility, occupational separation, partial territorial separation, or complete territorial separation (which is Zionism).

T. N. Carver

Digitized by Google

Is a Jewish State Desirable?

By Sir Charles Walston



SIR CHARLES WALSTON (formerly Waldstein), eminent archæologist, scholar, and publicist, was born in New York in 1856, and educated at Columbia, Heidelberg, and Leipsig (awarded honorary degrees also by Cambridge University and Columbia). He was for many years professor of Fine Arts at Cambridge University, director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and directed classical excavations in Greece. In addition to many notable volumes on art and classical archæology, he has written on "The Jewish Question," and more recently on the international problems of war and peace and national loyalties.

OPINIONS on the important question of Jewish aspirations in Palestine must necessarily depend on the general religious, as well as the wider political, convictions of each writer. Before giving my views, simply and fearlessly, if not bluntly, I should like to make it clear that I look upon the Jewish people, its past, its present, its future aspirations, always with sympathy and at times with reverence; and that I regard with sympathetic toleration the views and efforts of those who are fighting its cause, even if I do not agree with them. As the conscientious members of any one of the Christian sects or of any other creed who have forsaken the beliefs of their forefathers have gone through crises of moral struggle before they took the final step which urged them not to live a lie, and look with sad and fond hankering back to those whom they have left behind, so many of Jewish descent have severed their connection with the Jewish community, while many others have succumbed in this struggle and prefer "to live this lie." To quote from what I published in 1898:*

"This lie is lived by many Jews of superior moral and intellectual quality, generally from the mistaken sense of chivalry. Put yourself in the place of such a Jew. He lives among traditions that have a deep poetry from their age, from the centuries during which they have retained their influence, corresponding to the poetry which presents itself to one who looks back upon a long line of ancestors. He feels strongly what the Jews have always retained (and may they ever do so and teach it to

* All my views bearing upon this question will be found in my book, *The Jewish Question, and the Mission of the Jews.* I find it difficult to condense the full exposition of these views there given into a short article, and must refer the reader to that book, more especially to the chapter on "The Mission of the Jews." Nevertheless I am bound here to give a few extracts. I also hope that I may not lay myself open to the charge of egotism if I quote some of my other recent publications bearing upon the subject. For the fuller exposition given in such books not only more adequately represents my views, but they have the additional and intrinsic advantage of a more unbiased treatment from independent points of view.

Digitized by Google

others),—the family piety which makes each successive son shrink from denying the love which his father manifests to him in life or in memory. The desire not to grieve by any act of dissent those who are nearest to him is a strong one. And, above all, he feels the spirit of chivalry, or call it pluck, for he sees those of his own descent suffering, if not the rack and the fagot, still the slings and arrows which a cruel society can wield, none the less painful because they may be based upon ignorance. He realizes with contempt how many in times of tribulation have been renegades, and what harm they have done; not only by the slur they thus cast upon their people, but by the fact that, generally being possessed of wealth or of superior intellectual power, their success in the world of thought or action has been lost to the estimation which could be formed of the whole people. He must feel himself a coward if he denies them so long as they are in adversity. He can in his mind live through the struggles which such a great and noble soul as Spinoza must have gone through; what moral courage is required for him to follow the stern summons of truth, and to leave his own people in misery. And he cries out as the Psalmist of old: 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cling to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy!'"

The Stirring Appeal to Our Sympathies

I CAN thoroughly sympathize with such feelings as must have moved the breast of the greatest of Jewish philosophers. I furthermore hold that those who have severed all ties of creed and race ought still, as a matter of sentiment, to look back upon their past connection with the Jewish people as a source of pride, in so far as such pure sentiments are justified in social life and in the formation of character.

Of all racial origins, which can be theoretically recognized and defined within all modern peoples and nationalities, none approaches in eminence to the Jewish race. To use the terms in which Matthew Arnold, together with Heine, defined the component parts of modern European civilization, namely Hebraism and Hellenism, the claims of the Jews in thus producing the highest spiritual form of modern civilized life are paramount. Renan has still further confirmed these claims.* Those who can trace their unbroken descent physically and morally to the representatives of this great factor in modern civilization can lay claim to a distinction (I repeat, if there be any justifiable ground for such distinctions at all) which no other race or nationality, constituting the civilized communities of modern times, can show.

Even the Zionists evoke in me the deepest sympathy with their aspirations. I can hardly conceive that anyone possessed of the poetic sense of

* See the two essays on Judaism in *Discours et Conférences.*

Digitized by Google

historical justice, whether Jew or Gentile, can fail to be stirred in his imagination by the prospect of seeing Jerusalem restored to the Jews, and all that this means in the history of the past. I must be allowed to quote what I wrote on this subject nearly twenty years ago:

Without entering upon the practicability of the scheme, there is one fact upon which I must insist: that there has rarely been a movement among men so thoroughly disinterested and high-minded, free from any ulterior personal motive or ambition, and fired by an idea, the supreme poetry of which is in marked contrast to the materialism of our days, and the materialism so ignorantly attributed to the Jews. All people who are prepared to admire a striving to realize ideals, and especially those Jews who on one ground or another do not believe in the desirability of such a State, must at least give their full sympathy to those who devote themselves to this task. George Eliot, in a passage from "The Impressions of Theophrastus Such," has eloquently expressed the claims to universal sympathy of a movement tending towards the establishment of a national home for the Jews.

The Evils of Theocracy and Racialism

THE Zionists and orthodox Jews, on the other hand, must be watchful of their antagonisms and their passions towards those who do not believe in their fundamental doctrines, or in the advisability of the step they desire to take. My own objection to the Zionist scheme is based on fundamental grounds, apart from any question of practicability, grounds reaching far beyond the Jewish Question, or Jewish race and religion, grounds upon which rest the principle of all social and political life, the progress of civilization and humanity. All that I thus hold dear is menaced in our times by the spread of Chauvinism, especially racial and religious Chauvinism. And I object to the formation of a Jewish State, because it must needs be theocratic and racial in character. History has proved to me that theocracy, the translation of the supernatural world of religion into the practical life of politics, has been most disastrous and degrading to human society, degrading to religion as well as to politics. Moreover, religion, when taking this outer tangible form in life, must needs develop into sectarianism *à outrance*. On the other hand, a State built up upon the idea of race must engender that form of antagonism within its body which is the enemy of all humanitarian charity, and which is the cause of all the evils in modern anti-Semitism. *A priori* I am opposed to all that keeps human beings apart, to all separatism. The reasons for separate corporateness must appeal to the sense for what is universally reasonable and good, and must be tested by their final conformity with the universal welfare of human beings as such. This I recognize in human communities in the idea of a nation, which means the inhabitants of a State.

Digitized by Google

Such a nation and State may be primarily based upon physical proximity or on geographical conditions, though in later stages, as is proved by the British Empire, this is not essential. But this physical proximity is only important because of its effect in fashioning what is really essential to a nation—that is, its distinctive laws. These express, and are formed by, certain moral and intellectual principles, which again produce a national civilization and national ideals. Besides this, outside the individual family, I recognize nothing that stands between us and a broad humanity, whose advancement and welfare is the final goal. All other considerations as regards our political consciousness must be individual to ourselves. If they obtrude themselves politically they can only produce evil. There are other elements which come into play in the making of a nation, but they are only accessory, though they may have been effective historically in producing this community of laws, social and political, of civilization and of ideals. Such are a common past, a common language, a common land, a common religion, etc. But the essential feature in a nation is its common civilization. If the other elements do not further and elevate this, they are anti-national in effect besides being anti-human. I should rather say they are anti-national because they are anti-human.

Jewish Institutions in Jerusalem Should Be Cultivated

IN spite of all this sympathy with Jewish aspiration, I am distinctly opposed to the formation of anything approaching a Jewish State in Palestine; though I should welcome the advancement and increase of the Jewish community in that country, and especially the extension of the Jewish institutions in Jerusalem itself, side by side with those of Christian sects and even of Mahommedans. Jerusalem would be the proper abode for a great Hebrew school and University; the home of the historical Academy for the study of, not only Biblical, but Rabbinical and more recent history of the Jews, their language and literature (including Yiddish), with a central Library preserving all such records, and with a Museum for Jewish antiquities and art.

No one, however, can favor the foundation of a Jewish State who holds my own religious and political convictions. I venture to believe that there may be a considerable number of professing Jews whose convictions may approximate my own, and who still do not realize that they are not justified while holding such convictions in adhering to Jewish communities or in lending themselves to the propaganda of distinctly Jewish societies or political bodies. As regards religion, no person can consider himself a Jew who does not consider the revelations of the Old Testament to be more or less directly inspired by the Divinity, and who does not, in consequence, consider the Jewish people to hold a special relationship to God. Any form of pure

Digitized by Google

theism (or the deism of Locke or of advanced modern Unitarians) is not enough to constitute the faith of a Jew. Still less can those whose conception of the Deity is far removed from distinctly anthropomorphic attributes and is of a much wider cosmical character, profess adhesion to the Jewish faith.

As regards race, I maintain that, as little as an American of English, French or German extraction can call himself an Englishman, a Frenchman or a German, without thereby professing rank Hyphenism, so little can one of Jewish extraction consider himself a Jew on racial grounds, even though he could prove his purely Semitic origin, which in many cases, according to Renan, would be very doubtful.

In any case, however, I consider racialism, alias nationalism—both of which lead to Chauvinism—not only the most efficient cause of unrest within each state, but immediately or ultimately the cause of the great World War.

How Nationalism Leads to Chauvinism and Racial Antagonisms

THAT the conception of nationalism in its highest form, from Mazzini and the German romanticists onward, may have produced some good and many noble gestures in the past two generations and in some cases even in the present, is undeniable. But the evils to civilization and peace flowing from it in our own times, which will devastate vast tracts of cultured land, destroying fruit as well as flowers, are incomparably greater than have been the blessings. The racial and religious antagonisms in the Balkans have been for years the explosive force for conflagrations among European States. To these must be added the same dangerous conditions in Austria, the Turkish Empire, and the now disrupted elements of the Russian Empire.

Even the firmly constituted democratic States, the very hearths of constitutional freedom, such as the British Empire—nay the historic unity of Great Britain, and Ireland itself—are threatened by this romantic and scientifically unsound revival of racial nationalism, immediately in the problem of Irish Home Rule. I have always been one who held that devolution, federal division of self-government leading to closer federal union of the Kingdom and the Empire, should be inaugurated and include Home Rule for Ireland. But distinctly not on racial or religious grounds. To constitute England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland into the separate constitutional units of the wider federation would be as wrong in theory as it would be unwise in practice. It would create the wrong kind of corporateness, upon which would follow antagonisms and rivalries disruptive of the union as well as of the national, economic and moral qualities for which this great kingdom has stood, stands, and will stand in the world. Better far turn to the "Heptarchy" of old for an example in English history. But, better

Digitized by Google

still, divide, not only England, but Scotland, Wales and Ireland as well, into states of the firmer union, on grounds partly geographical, but essentially for the purpose of the best administrative divisions for the welfare of groups of inhabitants and local self-government, as well as the National and Imperial Unity of the whole.

The Jews Are Peculiarly Fitted to Develop International Patriotism

NO, not on such principles will the States of the future be built! The great "Melting Pot" of the United States will be the focus for the new anti-racial and anti-nationalistic state-building and policy of the future. As has been said many centuries ago: "Kinship is not measured merely by blood, but by agreement in deeds, and by pursuit of the same end." States thus based on the common needs, customs, laws, and—above all—common ideals, political, social and moral, will be the true homes of free citizens and will develop in them passionate patriotism. They will prepare their citizens for a wider and higher patriotism still, international patriotism,* which will be as ardent and effective as the love of our country is now, without in any way weakening or destroying our loyal devotion and sacrifice to our own nation. This international patriotism will find its tangible object and ulterior goal in some form which the League of Nations will evolve.

As I have endeavored to show elsewhere, the Jews are best fitted by their ethnical characteristics and especially their history and their present dispersion throughout the civilized world, to develop the virtues required for such an international patriotism in the future which, we devoutly trust, will bring the martyred world lasting peace secured by properly organized international power.

There is therefore no room for the establishment of a new State based upon either race or religious sectarianism, or the still more dangerous fusion of the two.

Chas Wreston

* I must refer those who are more curious to follow up my arguments on this point to my essay on "*Patriotism, National and International,*" as well as to my book, "*Aristodemocracy, From the Great War Back to Moses, Christ and Plato,*" and my earlier book, "*The Expansion of Western Ideals and the World's Peace.*"

Digitized by Google

The Nobler Nationalism of a Jewish State

By C. Delisle Burns

IF an author in the middle ages wished to describe an ideal state he wrote on "The Recovery of the Holy Land" or he composed a "Complaint of Jerusalem." The crusading ideal had so worked into the soul of Europe that men might say—"All will be well with the world when the Saracens are ejected from Jerusalem," and it would be imagined that Europe itself might be at peace when Palestine was regained. It was in such a mood that Peter Dubois in 1305 wrote his treatise on the League of Nations, in which he suggested an agreement to enforce peace and the use of the economic boycott. He called his treatise "The Recovery of the Holy Land."

C. DELISLE BURNS, *one of the most stimulating minds among the newer school of political thinkers in England, was born in 1879, took his degree at Cambridge, and also studied at Rome. He is now a member of the British Ministry of Reconstruction. His books on "Political Ideals," "Greek Ideals," "The Morality of Nations," and "The World of States" have been an inspiration and a clarifying influence to many political students. He has paid several visits to America, and has lectured at American Universities.*

Now, after so many centuries, Jerusalem is delivered from the Turks: and shall we see a new world of peace? The dream of the middle ages may yet come true: but however that may be, certainly we are at a turning-point in human history. It is not a mere delusion of those who are prone to exaggerate the importance of their own position to say that future ages will reckon these years as containing a great transformation.

It does not follow, however, that the change will be for the better. Progress is not inevitable. We may yet have to face a collapse of social structure or we may have to face the erection of new evils upon the ruins of the old. Therefore it is above all important that we should examine our ideals; for some of those which are popular are exceedingly meagre and tawdry. And if the war ends with a chorus of "What are we going to get out of it?" the nationalism of the twentieth century may be even more destructive than that of the nineteenth, and the new state system erected by the Peace Conference may institute a new anarchy in preparation for new wars. But the occasion gives us an opportunity: what can we make of it?

A Jewish State and the League of Nations

IN the transition to this new age two conceptions seem to be dominant, the idea of world organization under a League of Nations and the idea

Digitized by Google

of regionalism or the development of national characteristics on a basis of locality. These two conceptions are complementary. There can be no security for the development of small groups unless there is a League of Nations, and on the other hand the League will be one of armed governments and not of peoples unless it is possible for small groups to develop their own characteristics. This must be the framework within which the idea of a Jewish state develops.

At this moment one cannot foresee whether a Jewish state will be established and whether partial or complete independence will be given to a Jewish government in Palestine. But our argument will hold good of whatever administration has power, so long as it is in nationality Jewish: and for the purpose of the argument it will be enough to use the word "state" in a vague and indeterminate sense. We shall suppose only that a group of Jewish inhabitants of Palestine will be able to organize and administer the life of the people there.

What then is the place of a Jewish state? First, it is not to add another exclusive and primitive sovereignty to the older sovereignties. The status given to the new Jewish community in Palestine will, no doubt, depend on the "interests" of the different Powers whose efforts have contributed to the making of the present situation. We must be "realists" at least so far as this. We must not omit to notice the existence of tendencies by no means idealistic. Further it may be hoped that the desires of the inhabitants of Palestine will be consulted. But having given practical recognition to such facts, we may establish the organization of a Jewish state, which is only not sovereign because it is under the supervision of the League of Nations. Later development must show whether such a new state ought to be a member of the League or only in tutelage to the League.

A Cultural and Intellectual Leadership

THE fundamental issue, however, should be the interdependence of this new state or state group in relation to all the states of the world. Its existence will not destroy or diminish the citizenship of Jews in other states; but the fact that the nation of the Jews is scattered everywhere must place the new Jewish state in a position of internationalism such as is not possible for any other state. For this if for no other reason the Jewish state would lead in the internationalism of culture, of economics and of administration.

The place of the Jewish state in the world of states is the important problem for us here. We omit to speak of the task which that state has to perform for the Jewish race all over the world. Other nations also expect some gain from the establishment of the Jewish state, and we will hope that this new experiment may prove the value of the state to be in its

Digitized by Google

cultural and intellectual development rather than in the amount of its exports or the size of its army. What then do we who are not Jews look to the Jewish state to do?

The Great Jewish Opportunity: To Restore a Nobler Nationalism

IN the first place the whole world acknowledges that the Jewish tradition is unique; and that tradition is chiefly the sense of a peculiar mission. Crudely as that mission has been sometimes conceived by the majority of Jews, it has had prophets who are not inferior to the great men of any race. What is characteristic of the Jewish tradition appears to be this "prophecy," this consciousness of a task to be done, this sense of failure in its performance, this continual awareness of something intangible and yet exalted in the life of the people as a whole.

It is precisely this sense of a mission which appears to be lacking in modern nationalism: for we cannot call the bombastic attempt to dominate others the sense of a mission. A mission is a service not a mastership: and so it is conceived in Isaiah. So also it was conceived by the forsaken prophet of Italian nationalism, Mazzini, for he said very clearly that Italy's claim in 1860 was to such a recognition of her nationality as would make her most able to give her best to the human race. But since Mazzini's day nationalism appears to be simply a gospel of taking and not of giving, and we hear too much of the "rights" of small nations—not enough of their duties. The very quality of nationalism is spoilt; not by the claim to an independent political development but by the aggressiveness of an assumed superiority to others. We may expect, however, from a Jewish state some return to the earlier ideal. If such a state is to be conceived simply as a commercial speculation of groups in the great states, it will be worse than useless. It will only add another meanness and triviality to the tawdry history of the sovereign state. But if a Jewish community can stand to the world for a high culture, a fine idealism, and a sense that the quality of a nation depends on the character of its citizens rather than on the size of their incomes, then a Jewish state will be a gain to the whole world. To restore that nobler nationalism is not the task of the Jewish nation alone; but it belongs to that nation peculiarly to initiate a new tradition dependent on the tradition which they have inherited.

Giving "Roots" to the Jewish Race

BEING "realists" we shall not do more than expect the best: we may have to face a mere repetition of the history of nationalism in the nineteenth century. But no escape from that succession of cupidities is to be found in refusing a political recognition to nationality. A distinct

Digitized by Google

type of administration may very well be based upon nationality, for nationality is not like religion. Religion connects us with what is so fundamental or so elevated as to appear non-human: but nationality connects us with the every-day customs of our fellow men and with the land we live in. Administration is also closely connected with customs and its effective extent is dependent upon geographical circumstances. There is, therefore, an intimate connection between nationality and the forms of government, and it is natural for the Jewish race to wish to see its own characteristic life embodied in political forms. It is natural also that the world at large should expect from such an embodiment something more than would be expected from less ancient or less instructed nations which are now claiming political independence.

Secondly, the world expects the Jewish state to give "roots" to the Jewish race. The French say that the Jew is *déraciné* and, therefore, unscrupulous, and it is true that a man without "roots" to his life is less careful of the delicacies, the *finesse* of a people's feelings and ideals. He is ἄπολις—emotionally a wanderer, unstable in his allegiances and unfriendly to single and commonplace things—in a sense, homeless. But a land of his own, though he deserts it, gives him a quality he could not otherwise attain, and that land should be not merely a memory of the far past. The establishment of a state in Palestine gives the Jewish nation a land in being, a responsibility tangible and visible. And their contact with that land gives that stability which the world has found sometimes lacking in the Jewish financier and politician. For the great majority of men do not know Maimonides and Spinoza, they think rather of the Jew of the marketplace, and although we cannot believe that the character of any nation is what the majority believe it to be, nevertheless the belief in the "wandering" Jew affects the members of the Jewish nation. One tends to become what everyone believes one to be. We all live upon myths, and some of us make a mythical character for ourselves; others accept their characters as formed by the myth-making faculties of their friends and enemies.

Rescuing the Jewish Nation from Its Curse

THE Jewish state rescues the Jewish nation, for the universal benefit of all other nations, from the curse which has followed it since the middle ages. Europe has forced a way of life and even a certain moral character upon the majority of Jews and Europe now complains of the worst part of her handiwork. It is for Europe now to make amends, and she will do so not without great gain to herself.

There is every hope, therefore, that the world now after the war will find a place for a loftier nationalism and that this nationalism will be embodied in the highest form in the Jewish state. The importance of that

Digitized by Google

state will not depend upon its wealth nor upon its complete sovereignty; but it will depend upon the genuine internationalism of its position. Much has to be done in preparing the details of administration. Supplies, health and sanitation, transport, agriculture, industry, and an educational system —all have to be devised: and we do not pretend that high ideals will be sufficient without these. But in the complexity of new issues, it should not be forgotten that the character and quality of the Jewish state will depend upon the ideals of its citizens.

C. Delisle Burns

OF all the nationalities that constitute the American Commonwealth the Jewish is the oldest and surely also the wisest. Jews know that nationality is a precious heritage, a part of the intimate life of the soul, not to be neglected or discarded without spiritual impoverishment nor yet to be thrust upon others who have not inherited or lived themselves into its associations. In a world in which political and economic forces are tending more and more to standardize, and so to vulgarize, the prevalent types of life and culture, self-conscious nationality is a potent moral and educational influence for the preservation of the world's best treasures of thought and feeling and the enrichment of the common life of humanity.

Those of us in Europe who believe that the causes of Nationality and Democracy are inseparable and that self-conscious and self-governing nations are the instruments of the great political and moral purposes of humanity, look with increasing expectation of help, both in idea and experiments, to the ancient wisdom and youthful vigor of Jewish America in facing the great problems of political and industrial democracy, and of international organization which the course of events is forcing upon our attention on both sides of the Atlantic.

May THE MENORAH JOURNAL, *from its own distinctive standpoint, play its part in the work of suggestion and discussion, of revival and reconstruction, that lies before the civilized world in the years immediately before us.—From a letter from Alfred E. Zimmern, of the British Ministry of Reconstruction.*

Digitized by Google

"Rischon Le-Zion, Rosch-Pinah, Dagania"

By Martin Feinstein

THERE is a magic melody of names,
So sweet and soft it wins into my heart,
Like the first treble of a bird in Spring,
Bringing remembered dreams. O herald, wing
Passionate-swift from the hills of Zion, part
My night of years with song and crocus-flames.

There is a magic melody of names,—
And I shall wind them in a wreath, and wear
A crown of song upon my head, and I
Shall never dread the night. O herald, fly
Strong-winged from the plains of Judah, bear
The golden heritage my love reclaims.

There is a magic melody of names,
Triumphant, like the far-off trumpet flare
Of a lone trumpeter upon the hills of morning,
Clear, proud, and high, erect, and scorning
The sullen mists of night. O herald, there
Upon thy valiant face God's glory flames!

Digitized by Google

Freud: Discoverer of a New World

By A. A. Roback

A. A. ROBACK, Professor of English and Psychology in Northeastern College, Boston, and connected with the department of psychology at Harvard, received his education in the schools of Montreal and at McGill University (A. B.), Harvard (A.M., Ph.D.), and Princeton. He was for a time Instructor in Psychology at the University of Pittsburgh. He is the author of "The Interference of Will-Impulses," and of many contributions to English and Yiddish periodicals on both psychological and general topics.

FIFTEEN years ago Freud's name was practically unknown outside of medical circles. Today his name has become almost a household word. The Jewish Encyclopedia allots less space to Freud than to some fifth-rate Yiddish journalists.* Yet a whole library has been written on Freud since 1903. Few people in this world have been so fortunate as to have an *ism* affixed after their name, but fewer still have been accorded the rarer and consequently more glorious suffix *iana*. Let it be understood too that the term *Freudiana* has not been applied to the vast literature on Freud as a mere courtesy or act of homage to the celebrated psychopathologist. Though Freud is still with us, it is no less appropriate a designation than in the case of *Darwiniana* as applied to the literature on Darwin.

Only one other man now living may be said to vie with Freud in popularity amongst the intellectuals,—the Franco-Jewish philosopher Henri Bergson. They are two of a kind in their artistic make-up. Bergson revolts against conservatism in philosophy, while Freud displays the same radical tendency in his approach to psychology.†

There have of course been pioneers in the field of psychology before Freud. Orthodox psychology, that is to say, the psychology taught in college at the present day, has had its pathfinders and pacemakers. The course they took, however, led them for the most part directly ahead. Their work consisted in removing the obstacles and stumbling blocks from the territory gained in order to carry on further operations.

Freud, on the other hand, is primarily an explorer. Betaking himself to unknown regions, he meandered for some time alone and unobserved, but finally succeeded in unveiling before us a world not hitherto dreamt of. Thence he was hailed as a discoverer of new horizons, and the extent of his popularity soon exceeded all precedents in the annals of psychology.

* e. g. John Paley.

† A parallel between Freud and Bergson along different lines has been drawn by H. Scheffer in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. I.

Digitized by Google

A Chassid Among Psychologists

THE distinctive feature of Freud's writings is not, as with several other psychologists, their logical development. Forceful utterances, compelling statements are beyond his reach. Yet he rivets your attention and fascinates by his suggestive ideas and stimulating illustrations. Freud's attitude is that of the dreamer who is struck by an idea which subsequently develops into a grand vision. Should Israel Zangwill ever choose to expand his *Dreamers of the Ghetto*, the portrayal of Freud cannot but find a place in it. Serene and contemplative, yet bursting with ardor, Freud may be pictured as continually drifting about in search of a haven.

I am not sure that Freud was reared in a Chassidic atmosphere or that much of the Chassidic lore so prevalent in Austrian Jewry permeated his psychological system. But we are entirely on safe ground in regarding Freud as the *Chassid* in the history of modern psychology—*Chassid* in its etymological sense (from *Chessed*—kindness or mercy). Not only is he affiliated to Chassidism by virtue of his humanitarian interests, but the very catholicity of his views, as well as the mystic halo surrounding his doctrines, gives his outlook on life a peculiar coloring which brings it into line with Chassidism in its philosophical and historical aspects. Hence it is that Freudianism has become a movement rather than the name of a theory to be discussed solely in technical journals. Hence it is too that Freud has succeeded in creating disciples instead of merely training pupils, as most of the other psychologists have done.

Freud's contribution to science "is notable and in my opinion epoch-making," declares Prof. E. B. Holt of Harvard in the preface of his book, *The Freudian Wish*. "He has given to the science of mind a 'causal category': or, to put it less academically, he has given us a key to the explanation of mind. It is the first key which psychology has ever had which fitted, and moreover, I believe it is the only one that psychology will ever need. . . . This key to the mind, Freud calls the 'wish.'"

Freud's Humanism and Humanitarianism

THE "wish" is of course fundamental in Freud's system, but underlying his wish doctrine is his general approach to the study of mind and his outlook upon human relations. Freud is the *humanist par excellence*. His system emanates from his whole personality, the expansion of which seems to have taken place while he was in close contact with his great teacher Charcot—the head of the Paris school. As a specialist on nervous disorders, Charcot was probably without an equal in his day. Yet since most of his patients exhibited some abnormity in one form or another, he was inclined to treat them as *objects* rather than as *persons*. We are all apt

Digitized by Google

to look down upon the abnormal who show no superior traits to compensate for their defect, and Charcot was no exception. The æsthetic, and perhaps also, the moral reaction did not disappear even in his capacity of physician.

Freud's attitude was altogether different. To him the patient is a person, not an object. In order to be cured, the patient must co-operate with the physician. There must be a bond of sympathy between the two, otherwise the cure is mechanical. The difference between Charcot's and Freud's therapeutic methods is splendidly described by Havelock Ellis in an article called "The Psychoanalyst."*

Freud's personal or humanistic attitude towards his patients was a radical innovation. We may ask ourselves why he parted company with his master on so universal a practice—universal because we are all more or less inclined to the same attitude. Was it merely a matter of difference in temperament or is the reason a more deep-seated one? Temperamental variations will indeed account for many divergences, but in the case of Freud the deviation goes hand in hand with the novel point of view that his attitude involved.

Most of us—even the most enlightened—make a too sharp line of demarcation between the normal and the abnormal. True enough, we do not believe the mentally afflicted to be possessed by an evil spirit as our parents or grandparents did, but we certainly have a tendency to place the psychasthenic and hysterical outside our camp. We need not stop to examine the cause of this sentiment. It is the *fact* we are dealing with, and this will be borne out by a little introspection on our attitude to people who behave queerly.

The Underground Consciousness

FREUD'S conception of the mental mechanism led him to the conviction that the abnormal is not something foreign and esoteric, but merely a changed condition of the normal state. The abnormal in a person is just as much himself as the normal. The peculiar twitch, the tick, the obsession, and countless other symptoms, are only the expression of some former state of consciousness that found its way blocked and consequently had to make its appearance in another form. Every idea—idea used in the broadest sense so as to include all states of consciousness—must find an outlet. If it cannot come into the open, owing to convention, hereditary disposition, tradition, the particular upbringing of the individual, the circumstances surrounding a given situation, and what not, it is bound to take a roundabout way and finally manifest itself in some symbolic form. This manifestation may either be more objectionable than the original state it represents, as in the case of mental and nervous disorders, or else it may constitute a refinement on the repressed idea, as in dreams and wit.

* *The Bookman* for September, 1917.

Digitized by Google

Thus we see that there is a great deal more to consciousness than we are ordinarily aware of. All that we know is what happens on the ground floor, to speak metaphorically, but the enormous activity that is carried on in the underground passages and channels is a mystery to us until we begin thoroughly scrutinizing the occasional scanty messages that reach the surface. The processes, therefore, that we are *not* conscious of are more important to Freud than those of which we are actually aware. Orthodox psychology, as exemplified by the views of Wundt, Münsterberg, and Titchener, examines the *bricks* of mental life; Freud realizes that the bricks are held in place by softer material, and so he institutes a minute search into the mortar, the cement and the concrete. He may be represented as saying to the psychologist of the old school: "There is more in mental life than your psychology ever dreamt of." The "unconscious" or "subconscious" rather (though Freud calls it *das Unbewusstsein*) becomes a scientific concept, not a mystical or supernatural symbol; and as such it forms the cornerstone of his whole system.

The Survival of a Suppressed Idea

IT will readily be seen that the kernel of Freud's entire conception of life is contained in the one word *transformation* or *compensation*. No doubt there is a tinge of mysticism behind it all. The doctrine is of Eastern origin, but its sway on man is universal. It is of course implied in the belief of the transmigration of souls (metempsychosis) as well as in the ritual of sacrifice. Emerson, it will be remembered, thought the law of compensation a fundamental cosmic principle.

No conscious state is absolutely lost, if we accept the tenet of Freud. In modern psychology it has long been observed that the more we try to suppress an idea the more insistent it grows. This is true of society as well as of the individual, as history has amply proven. That we suppress or have a tendency to suppress the unpleasant has not been known so generally. Now that we are acquainted with the fact, it seems quite natural, but there was a time when it was not so obvious.

Hysteria, according to the views of Freud, originates in the suppression of some complex—an emotional shock, for instance. Since sexuality plays a preëminent rôle in our life, in fact, from early infancy, and since also sexual matters are wrought into such a fine meshwork of convention, one can easily imagine how frequently there would be occasion for certain conscious states to court repression. The repression will take place. The incident will be forgotten. The emotional shock will be over; but on the ruins of this suppressed complex, a pathological symptom will be observed to develop.

Digitized by Google

"*Psychoanalysis*"

THE cure then will consist in analyzing this complex, which is responsible for the aberration, from out the deepest recesses of the patient's mind. Hence the term *psychoanalysis* which has become current in every civilized country. Havelock Ellis points out, in his brilliant article already alluded to, that the credit for priority in the use of this method belongs to Dr. Joseph Breuer (another Austrian Jew) who was the elder collaborator of Freud, and that Freud himself has acknowledged his indebtedness to his colleague, but "Breuer guided him to an insight which he (Breuer) never gained."

We cannot here go into a detailed description of the psychoanalytic method as employed by Freud and his numerous disciples. "Something has taken hold of the patient," say the uninitiated. "No," Freud tells us, "something has been *displaced*. Let it bob up and the cure is effected" —the "evil one" has undergone a process of *sublimation*. It may be considered by some as a bit of pleasantry if I put it this way: *the specific gravity of the symptom depends on the extent of the displacement* in the mental life of the patient; but the Archimedes of Psychology might well have formulated his doctrine of displacement in such terms, had he written in English instead of in German. The analogy between physics and psychology is not incidental. There is a constant interchange of terms among the various sciences; and according to Havelock Ellis "Freud's work is the revelation in the spiritual world of that transformation and conservation of energy which half a century earlier had been demonstrated in the physical world."

Freud extends his principle to cover almost all our behavior. Thus wit is only the refined expression of a sexual impulse or malevolence (the nearest equivalent, I believe, to *Schadenfreude*); dreams are suppressed wishes; a slip of the tongue or pen—the indication that what we were about to say did not correspond to what we might have said or written if we were not guided by our conventional and social censor; a memory lapse is to be explained by the fact that we did not *wish* to remember the particular fact (for example, the name or face of an acquaintance).

Freudian Extravagances

WHILE Freud displays so much acumen and power of observation in the selection and analysis of his numerous illustrations to prove his theory, he has, in my opinion, been too extravagant in the application of his principle. Much of what he says on hysteria, dreams, memory lapses, and wit, may be accepted without distrust, but my own experiments on writing lapses or slips of the pen, conducted in the Harvard Psychological

Digitized by Google

Laboratory, have convinced me that Freud has shot beyond the mark of plausibility, while his disciples have scarcely ever succeeded in anywhere approaching it.

In criticism of Freud I may perhaps be allowed to quote, from my forthcoming (second) volume on *The Interference of Will-Impulses*, two or three sentences in regard to Freud's work, from which it will also be seen that the present writer is not a thoroughgoing Freudian: "The writer does not wish to convey the impression that he is belittling Freud's valuable service in other fields. More than that, he believes that Freud has opened new vistas in psychology, but it happens that in his eagerness to subsume every human act under his all-embracing doctrine he is blinded to a number of simple facts. Some of the interpretations in the *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* fairly make us gasp. Not only is there not the slightest plausibility in the tentative explanations, but occasionally every bit of verisimilitude in the represented situation is totally lacking, unless we assume that his patients belong to the class of people characterized by the heroes of Dostoëvsky's and Artzibashev's novels. And if so, the question arises as to what degree of trustworthiness can be attached to them. . . .

"Freud has been so fortunate in the authority he wields among his devotees that his utterances are accepted uncritically. Most of the criticisms directed against Freud have come from men who dislike his doctrine on general principles, but who have not taken the trouble to subject his illustrations to a rigorous examination."

The hankering after number manipulations so noticeable in the writings of Freud and his followers, and at the same time so reminiscent of the methods in vogue among the Cabbalistic commentators of the Bible, I have dealt with in another connection.*

Freud's Career and Personality

SIGMUND FREUD was born in Freiberg, Moravia, in 1856. His father, Jacob, was a merchant. The maiden name of his mother was Amalia Nathanson. Upon graduation in medicine at the University of Vienna, he became a demonstrator at the Physiological Institute in Vienna, and a little later he was appointed physician at the Vienna General Hospital. In 1885 he left for Paris to study under Charcot, after being appointed to an instructorship at the Vienna University, and in 1902 he was granted an assistant professorship. In 1909 Freud visited this country at the invitation of Clark University, and received the honorary degree of LL.D. at its decennial anniversary.

His early writings were on aphasia, infantile paralysis, and hysteria

* A. A. Roback: Biblical Exegesis in the Light of Freudian Psychology, *The Jewish Forum*, Oct. 1918.

Digitized by Google

(the last in collaboration with Joseph Breuer). All these works brought him little recognition. It was only after the publication of his trilogy, *The Interpretation of Dreams, Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious,* and the *Psychopathology of Everyday Life,* that he achieved fame. At present there are translations not only of these but also of his less important monographs. Like other psychologists of his race, Freud is a prolific writer, but instead of publishing dozens of books, he gives most of his energy to the editing of periodicals, which contain hundreds of articles from his pen.

Though he is continually referring to his personal traits and acts in his books, he is unassuming in manner. One feels that he talks about himself in an objective spirit just as he might talk about anyone else.

There must be something attractive about his personality to have won for him so many disciples, even if "nearly all of the chief and ablest of his early supporters—Bleuler, Adler, Jung and Stekel—have successively left him." This secession is aptly accounted for by Ellis, who says: "For in art we are concerned with matters of taste and sympathetic insight which one person may feel and another not, or even the same person may feel to-day and cease to feel to-morrow."

Freud is still an assistant professor at the age of 62—the Teutonic method of rewarding Jews for bringing fame to their universities and countries.

Freud and His University Position

FREUD is one of the very few celebrated Jews of our age who do not ignore their racial affiliations. In every one of his books there are references to the Jews and his relations with them. In his *Psychopathology of Everyday Life* he tells us how the idea of *Chámer,* the Yiddish (through the Hebrew *Hamòr*) equivalent for "idiot," has induced the word "hammer."

In the most matter-of-fact manner he tells us of an incident to explain a dream of his. This incident, which is related in his *Interpretation of Dreams* (English edition, p. 115), should interest us all on account of the universal problem that is involved here.

"In the spring of 1897 I learnt that two professors of our university had proposed me for appointment as Professor Extraordinary (assistant professor). This news reached me unexpectedly and pleased me considerably as an expression of appreciation on the part of two eminent men, which could not be explained by personal interest. But I immediately thought I must not permit myself to attach any expectation to this event. The university government had during the last few years left proposals of this kind unconsidered, and several colleagues who were ahead of me in

Digitized by Google

years and who were at least my equals in merit, had been waiting in vain during the time for their appointment. I had no reason to suppose I should fare better. I resolved then to comfort myself. I am not, so far as I know, ambitious, and I engage in medical practice with satisfying results even without the recommendation of a title . . .

"One evening I was visited by a friend of mine, one of those colleagues whose fate I had taken as a warning for myself. As he had long been a candidate for promotion to the position of professor, which in our society raises the physican to a demi-god among his patients, and as he was less resigned than I, he was in the habit of making representations from time to time at the offices at the university government for the purpose of advancing his interests. He came to me from a visit of that kind. He said that *this* time he had driven the exalted gentleman into a corner and had asked him directly whether considerations of creed were not responsible for the deferment of his appointment. The answer had been that to be sure—in the present state of public opinion—His Excellency was not in a position, etc. 'Now I at least know what I am at', said my friend in closing his narrative, which told me nothing new, but which was calculated to confirm me in my resignation. For the same considerations of creed applied to my own case."

Freud on Jewish Wit

FREUD'S interest in Jewish affairs is best instanced by the scores of illustrations from Jewish humor in his *Wit and the Unconscious*. Unlike Sidis, who does not refer once to Jewish jokes in his *Psychology of Laughter*, or Abraham Brill—Freud's protagonist in this country—who represents typical examples of Jewish wit as "Jokes from the German,"* Freud devotes a large portion of his book to the discussion and analysis of Jewish wit—jokes in circulation among the Yiddish-speaking people.

The extract from his *Wit and the Unconscious* (p. 166) with which this article is concluded reveals Freud in a somewhat new light. Without being aware of it, he is taking up the trend of Lazarus and Steinthal and appears to us as a collective psychologist with the same sympathies as were evinced by the founder of *Völkerpsychologie:*

"This determination of self-criticism may make clear why it is that a number of the most excellent jokes of which we have shown here many specimens, should have sprung into existence from the soil of Jewish national life. They are stories which were invented by Jews themselves and which are directed against Jewish peculiarities. The Jewish jokes made up by non-Jews are nearly all brutal buffooneries in which the wit is spared by the fact that the Jew appears as a comic figure to a stranger. The Jewish

* Cf. his *Psychoanalysis* (2nd ed.) pp. 343-344.

Digitized by Google

jokes which originate with Jews admit this, but they know their real shortcomings as well as their merits. Incidentally I do not know whether one often finds a people that makes merry so unreservedly over its own shortcomings."

A. A. Roback

"THE CARRIER OF LIFE"—an article giving the results of original research and interpretation of Talmudic theories of the blood which show a most remarkable anticipation of modern science, will be a contribution in the April issue of THE MENORAH JOURNAL, *from the pen of Dr. David I. Macht of Johns Hopkins University, whose recent discovery of a new local anaesthetic was featured in the press. Dr. Macht's article will be of keen interest, not only to Talmudic scholars, but to students of modern hygiene and medical progress.*

In a subsequent issue will appear an article on "Jews in Science," by Dr. Benjamin Harrow of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York—a most impressive and fascinating roll-call of the achievements of Jewish scientists in the most vital departments of modern science, particularly in the fields of therapeutics and preventive medicine.

Dr. Maurice Fishberg, physician and author, whose book on "The Jews: a Study of Race and Environment," has become a classic text, is writing a frank discussion of the problem of intermarriage for THE JOURNAL. *Probably no man in America is more competent to treat this subject in an unprejudiced, scientific fashion—no one, certainly, has a greater wealth of data on the subject at his command.*

Digitized by Google

The Ideal Rabbi

By Elliot E. Cohen

THE problem of the ideal Synagogue is a problem chiefly of the ideal rabbi. We must realize—this cannot be repeated too often—that the success of the ideal synagogue depends on its leadership more than upon any other factor—that it must stand or fall with the calibre and the capacity of the man to whom it is to be entrusted. How to get these men is the question the importance and difficulty of which it would be fatal to minimize. At the root of this problem of properly recruiting the rabbinate, a problem which American Jewry has faced in the past and must anticipate in the future, is the outstanding and serious fact that the best of American Jewish youth is not attracted by the rabbinate as a profession. The usual reasons given do not offer an explanation. It is not a question of money;—given a young man attracted by a profession, monetary considerations are notoriously secondary. Besides, the modern rabbi is really very well paid. Nor is it because things Jewish no longer interest Jewish youth; in refutation, witness the Menorah movement with societies in over sixty universities eagerly engaged in the study and promotion of Jewish ideals and culture. Nor is it, as one hears it said ever so often, because "in this materialistic age men no longer seek the service of God." This idea is due to a persistent fallacy that recognizes "service to God" only in "service in the church." Rather must one realize that the office of the priest—the one man in a community unselfishly devoted to the service of man and, through man, of God—has been greatly divided as civilization has evolved. Various important functions have been taken from him by the necessities of events, and to fill them have arisen the so-called "professions"—teaching, medicine, law, social service, and journalism. These are all essentially priestly professions, dedicated to the service of mankind, and offer worthy fields for the energy of the altruistic idealist. The men who follow them are just as truly in the service of God as is the minister who serves Him in the church.

Elliot E. Cohen is the author of the Intercollegiate Menorah Prize Essay on "The Promise of the American Synagogue," printed in the October and December 1918 numbers of the Journal. The present "post scriptum" paper deals more in detail with the qualifications and training of the ideal rabbi which were touched upon in the main body of the essay.

Why Doesn't the Rabbinate Attract Our Youth?

OUR question now can be put in these terms: Why are our young men, interested in Judaism, eager to serve their people, self-sacrificing and idealistic, more attracted by other professions than by the rabbinate? The

Digitized by Google

answers offered by the many Jewish college men whose opinion on the subject the writer has sought, have been varied, but usually include one or more of the following four considerations. First, college men are wary of a profession that seems to demand that its members live as "men apart." They are not ready to become "saints"; they do not care to fit their heads to ecclesiastical halos. Secondly, college men feel that entering the rabbinate means limiting or sacrificing in some greater or less degree one's intellectual integrity. One must subscribe, at the expense of his sincerest convictions, perhaps, to the theology of the particular group with whom he has identified himself. Furthermore, one's most valued ideals may have to be thrown overboard out of regard for the material interests of the group of business men who call themselves the "trustees of the temple." College men are very reluctant to submit to either of these restrictions. A third very common cause of antagonism has to do with the present conditions of Jewish rabbinical training in this country. None of the so-called conservative or orthodox seminaries have much attraction for the American Jewish college man. He demands something much more liberal than they can offer. But he is met by a paradoxical and disheartening state of affairs. The Jewish theological college that is the supposed leader of modern liberal Judaism is at the same time the one most out of touch with modern liberal movements in Jewry; moreover, while purporting to represent the evolving reform type of Judaism it really offers a theology as rigid and inflexible as any theology may well be. This whole situation is certainly discouraging to any one considering the rabbinate as a possible profession. There is a fourth complaint, perhaps the most important of all, that is also frequently met with. The college man defends his preference for the other professions on the ground that the opportunity for social service in the present synagogue is very small compared to the great field that is open to him, for example, in medicine or in journalism. The two sermons a week at his disposal do not seem to him a particularly powerful instrument with which to reach and influence a rather irregular following; as for other possible activities, they seem at best haphazard and of dubious value. So much energy to so little end—in short the whole thing doesn't seem worth while. The rabbinate appeals to him as a losing game—and he is not willing to back his all on it.

The New Type of Synagogue Will Make the Rabbinate Attractive

IT is one of the chief arguments in favor of the ideal synagogue, as here planned, that its mere existence will automatically remove almost all of the shortcomings of the rabbinate as an attractive profession for the young Jewish college man. Especially will it overcome his last and most important argument against it. With the vastly increased scope and in-

Digitized by Google

fluence of the synagogue the rabbi will at last have a truly mighty weapon for good—will be given the magnificent privilege of reaching his people in every phase of their lives. No longer will the charge of narrowness of interest and opportunity be possible; the rabbi of the ideal synagogue will find ample stimulus and outlet for his finest resources of intellect and character. And with it will come the great inspiration of doing something immensely real and worth-while—something of significant and vital moment. No more attractive profession could be imagined; the response from the Jewish young men of the country would surely be immediate.

And the other undesirable aspects of the rabbinate would soon after disappear. Emancipated from the necessity of becoming a mere ecclesiastical shadow of a man, by the many-sidedness of his work and by his close every-day contact with his people, he will no longer be expected to preserve a cloistered detachment from reality but will be respected as a man among men. And with his congregation's wider knowledge of Jewish history this persistent concept of the ecclesiastic will finally disappear. For the distinction between the clergy and the laity is an essentially Christian doctrine without any real root in Jewish tradition; the rabbi of old was never considered, because of his office, a man apart. And the second shortcoming of the rabbinate noted above will also be remedied. With the extension of opportunity that will accompany the enlarged activities of the synagogue will come an increase in the influence and power of the rabbi. He will be able as never before to attain independence in judgment and belief in religion, and independence in action in his congregational and pulpit policy. For with the increased interest of the general Jewish public in the synagogue the method of control will become essentially democratic—domination by small groups, whether in the congregation or in the rabbinical conference, will no longer be possible. The rabbi will be responsible directly to the people and to them only. It will not be an irksome restriction or check. For responsibility in a democracy is not a stringent duty as much as it is a sacred trust.

Better Professional Training for the Rabbi and Staff

THE conditions in the Jewish theological seminaries of the country that are the basis of the third criticism noted above are conditions that time will do much to rectify. Already there is in them quite a noticeable increase of the liberal spirit, which holds out the hope that they may be able to adjust themselves to meet the demands of the times. If not, a new and more ideal institution must and will of necessity grow up. One can think of many ways in which it can improve on anything we have. It should offer, instead of the complicated six- or seven-year course accompanied by regular college work, a four-year strictly professional course

Digitized by Google

with the B.A. degree as a prerequisite. Further, following the Christian theological seminaries it should have endowments that will make possible the attendance of any man of ability and inclination—adequate financial assistance being forthcoming in all necessary cases. And above everything else it must be situated in the East and not isolated in some relatively small and detached Jewish community. A center of light and learning, it should be at all times close to the heart of American Jewry; close to all the ideals and culture of the many brands of Jews that are thrown together in the great cities of the Atlantic coast; close to the reactions and revolutions, the currents and cross-currents of Jewish life. The Jewish University will stand at the center interpreting the present in the light of the past, and reading the significance of both for the benefit of the students who throng its halls—the men who are to control the future. All this is, of course, merely hope—but there is no reason why it should not come to pass. We will need something of the kind for the training of the rabbi of the ideal synagogue.

The problem of providing training for the rest of the staff necessary to administer the ideal synagogue is a comparatively simple one. We already have well equipped and efficient schools of instruction in social service and Jewish philanthropy. A notable gain has also been made in Jewish education in New York City in the past few years and an increasingly higher grade of Jewish teachers may be expected in the future. Ideally the trained staff of the synagogue will be supplemented by the active services of every Jew in the community—every member of the congregation helping in the particular kind of work for which he is best fitted. Recent experience with Jewish war relief committees show how much work people can be induced to do if properly organized. Thus we have an institution which will rest on the positive contribution of each individual. And because of that it will no longer be something forced on them as from above—but rather a common trust founded on the voluntary cooperation of each and every Jew in the community. This is a most vital gain.

The Ideal Synagogue Is Entirely Practicable

THE proposed ideal synagogue, then, is not only theoretically desirable and inevitable, but is also in every way possible, practically speaking. There is no detail of it that cannot be put in actual operation. Of course, it will require time and money. Yet the time needed is far less than one might think, for in quite a few cities of the country fair beginnings towards the ideal synagogue are already being made. These experiments do not lose in significance from the fact that most of them make no great claims to solving the Jewish problem and are largely unconscious of the very revolutionary potentialities latent in them. The financial side of our

Digitized by Google

problem has been mentioned before. The ideal synagogue will indeed require a large expenditure at the beginning, but even considered as a purely business proposition will more than pay its way. For in centralizing every Jewish activity it will do away to a marked degree with duplication of function and interest, and through that will radically reduce the general expense of the upkeep of Jewish communal work. No longer will there be from four to five societies proposing to do the same work; the consequent economy of means will in the end prove a great boon to American Jewry.

So much for the practical side of our problem; the ideal synagogue can—and will be—realized in all its essential details. And when we have done that we have gone very far towards solving our wider problem. We will have offered every attraction and every opportunity for the development of the true Jewish spirit. We will have really good Jews—men learned in their history and culture, Jews held to their people and to their religion by all possible bonds. Given a body of sincere, religious Jews we can then proceed to realize the future ambitions of our people. If the decision be finally for a national state we can go about building it with the quiet confidence that it cannot but succeed, being founded and supported as it is by men deeply cognizant of all the implications of their inheritance. Or perhaps—who can tell—we may evolve some new and even worthier ideal!

Keeping the Youth Within the Fold

NO discussion of the Jewish problem to-day is felt to be complete without some consideration of the problem of the Jewish youth. It is certainly a most vital phase of the larger problem and well worth all the attention that may be given to it. Conditions are alarming and no doubt require some immediate measures. But it does seem that some people are unnecessarily hysterical. They see Judaism perishing because Jewish young men and women do not flock to the synagogue. This is due in part, of course, to the shortcomings of the synagogue—but far more to the simple fact that Jewish young men and young women are *young* men and *young* women. Youth if not irreligious is certainly not greatly concerned about religion. Religion is, after all, an affair of the serious propositions of existence—its problems are life and death. Youth catches only occasional glimpses of life and then through a mist of rosy dreams; death, if ever thought of, seems far off in the dim, hazy, remote future. With the natural result that the average young man or woman is the careless, pleasure-seeking human creature that he or she ought to be. To force religion on them is quite impossible, and results only in tragical travesties on religious observance like the compulsory morning chapel at Yale—to use an example near home. But our ideal synagogue will go far toward solving

Digitized by Google

this particular problem. The child will get enough good Jewish training in the religious school to keep him in bounds when he is a little older and in his coltish days. Besides, the young man will be held to things Jewish by his activities in the various parts of the synagogue group, by the literary and social club, by the dance hall and the gymnasium. So not having entirely severed his connections with Jewish things he will come back easily and naturally to Judaism when he is old enough really to need and appreciate religious influence and inspiration.

Youth, however, is not always carefree. There is a minority of young men and young women who do try to think seriously about the problems of life, and who find that search after truth has landed them on reefs of doubt. That is a quite common fate of the thinking university student, who is more apt than not to be a professed agnostic. His studies and thinking have caused him to lose whatever faith he once had. The tendency is marked among the students at Yale. There are courses that turn out atheists by the score; chiefly the sciences and mathematics, and, of course, philosophy. Anthropology and modern realistic psychology also score heavily. The agnostic student is both Gentile and Jew, a very large proportion the latter. To deal with this problem effectively is in a sense impossible—the "sturm und drang" period of youth is largely inevitable. And we would not ask the Jewish youth to give up the studies that may cause him to doubt. Judaism has always been a rational religion; it has never depended on blind faith and it has not been afraid to meet the sciences and philosophy on their own ground. But at the present moment Judaism is not putting up a very good fight. On one side science and philosophy give the thinking young Jew well-knit, logical arguments backed up by fact—on the other side, the case of Judaism is stated poorly if at all. The trouble is that Judaism is nowhere propounded with the idea of attracting and convincing young men who might be asking questions. The scarcity of Jewish books with this purpose is in marked contrast to the scores that Christianity has printed. The ideal synagogue will again offer as near a solution of this problem as is attainable. The pulpit will effectively present the case for the Jewish religion, there will be study circles in which mooted questions may be threshed out, and there will be other weapons that will put doubt on the defensive instead of in the commanding position that it now holds.

Our Contribution to American Culture

THERE is one final consideration. With the great success promised by the ideal synagogue it would seem impossible that there could be any hesitancy on the part of any Jew in welcoming and endorsing every detail of the plan. Yet a certain amount of opposition will have to be anticipated and met as completely as possible. There are a group of Jews in

Digitized by Google

America who are sure to oppose anything like an attempt to form a Jewish community center. To them it is a plot to separate the Jews from other Americans—making them into a foreign element.

Are we proposing to nurture in each city a culture foreign to the culture of the United States; shall we develop a culture out of step with the general trend of American ideas? A question of this kind is rather absurd. For America, it is generally recognized, has as yet nothing like a definite culture; in the main fields of culture, literature, art, drama, and philosophy, we have as yet produced nothing very distinctive, or which we would be proud to call characteristically American. And the culture of America—a thing of the far future perhaps—will be developed only when the various racial groups within it have given the fullest and best expression to their individual inheritance—and not before. A premature merging of individuality will mean mediocrity! Just as the strong nation is built up by the finest possible expression of the spirit of each individual citizen, so will the culture of our country be the result of the completed contribution of each cultural unit. We really owe it to ourselves and to our country to nourish and develop our Jewish heritage that we may make a real and living gift to America in return for all she has done for us.

Our duty, then, lies plain before us. We must set out immediately with all the energies at our command to reconstruct the American synagogue. Not only is it the best solution of the many difficulties and problems that imperil the very existence of the Jew, but it is also our greatest opportunity to work out our real place in the universal scheme of things. For through the self-realization that will come with the ideal synagogue, we can, while helping ourselves, serve our country and, perhaps, begin to shape the final contribution that we will offer, as Jews, to the world. And this last should be our ideal. For ultimately a people is judged not by what it can get but by what it has given.

Digitized by Google

Five Hundred Years of Yiddish Poetry

By Isaac Goldberg

ISAAC GOLDBERG, indefatigable student of the literatures of modern Europe, has done much pioneer work in the introduction of our Yiddish men of letters to English readers. Born in Boston in 1887, he was educated at Harvard (A.M., Ph.D.), and has devoted himself to editing (The Stratford Journal) and writing for newspapers and magazines. He is the author of studies in modern satire and drama, and several volumes of translations of Yiddish stories and plays, particularly of David Pinski and Sholom Asch.

IT is a curious phenomenon that times of national and international stress have always operated to fan interest anew in the Yiddish language and literature. More than one historian has written that were it not for the persecutions to which Jews have so long been subject the language might have died out altogether. A sense of common danger revives the sense of common origin and common institutions and then, perhaps more than ever, Jews become aware of the treasures that compose their heritage. Not least of these treasures is the much despised, little understood Yiddish tongue—an instrument of infinitely powerful possibilities in the expression of dramatic and lyric emotions, a vehicle of thought that in the hands of its modern masters becomes radiant with beauty.

It is not part of my present purpose to make anything like a plea for the artificial preservation of Yiddish; languages, in the course of their evolution, follow certain well-known laws, and from these Yiddish will not be exempt. But among college students especially I have found more than once a certain contempt for Yiddish that expressed itself in most disconcerting fashion. "Is Yiddish a language altogether?" I was once asked by a brilliant Russian-Jewish student. "Yiddish literature?" queried another. "Is there any such thing?" So why worry about the future of Yiddish when even among our own intellectuals is found a sneering indifference towards it? And the irony of the whole situation is that while so many of these students are engrossed in their literary studies, enthusing over novelists like Rex Beach and Robert W. Chambers or dramatists like the author of "Peg o' My Heart" and similar plays, Yiddish boasts a Sholom Asch and a David Pinski, an Abraham Raisin, a Perez Hirschbein—writers that would add to the glory of any living tongue. Is Yiddish a language? The question becomes fatuously academic when you read such a work, for instance, as Pinski's "King David and His Wives." The first acts that compose this remarkable series are instinct with a dramatic power and a melodious beauty hard to match in any of the European tongues. Or, as an example of novelistic prose, read the thirteenth chapter of Asch's "Meri" (Part One), or the beautiful scene of Rachel's delirium and death in the same author's "Der Weg Zu Sich" (chapter forty-one), and then leave questions like the above to those who have

Digitized by Google

time to waste. Has Yiddish a literature? To answer some questions is to acknowledge partnership in the questioner's folly.

The Yiddish Poet's "Film of Tears"

AND now comes an anthology, composed of two quarto volumes, with the imposing title "Five Hundred Years of Yiddish Poetry." What! "Is Yiddish so old?" I can hear some of my young college friends inquire. "Have they poets, too?" Not only some of the finest prose writers now working—not only in David Pinski, one of the most significant playwrights alive—not only, as in Sholom Asch, a master of poetic realism, but poets, too: voices like Frug, Perez, Raisin, Rosenfeld, Yehoash, and even a most lively group of young men and women who follow the "new" paths and believe in free verse, anarchic rhythms, complex metres and bold ideas. Mr. Bassin, himself a young poet of substantial attainments, is responsible for this recent addition to Yiddish letters. His work has been a labor of love. The compilation of an anthology is at best a thankless task—something that cannot be done to suit the taste of every one, and hence inevitably the target of many punctilious criticisms from folks who forget to be thankful that the work was done at all. Coming at a time when the Jews are upon the threshold of a new era it serves to emphasize another cause for our people's legitimate pride, to indicate the essentially poetic character of a race so long and so unjustly accused of abject service to Mammon and things material, to reveal the manifold capabilities of Yiddish as a harp of poesy.

In his monumental work upon "Main Currents in Nineteenth Century Literature," Georg Brandes remarks that "Frenchmen seek the essence of poetry in observation, Germans seek it in intensity of feeling, and Englishmen in exuberance of imagination which refuses to be restricted by rule." Is it possible similarly to define the dominant traits in the Yiddish conception of poetry? Certainly there is a deep lyric note that sounds through the five hundred years of Yiddish song—a note that wells "from the depths of some divine despair." More often than not, the lyric mood is accompanied by one of reflection that looks upon the world through a film of tears. Indeed, without any misplaced attempt at facetiousness, it is easy to invert truthfully Daudet's impromptu definition of poetry—"Faire une perle d'une larme"—and say that the Yiddish poet, rather than make a pearl of a tear, is often too apt to make a tear of a pearl.

So intensely lyric is the Yiddish Muse that even among the scenes of nature she not only cannot forget herself, but must needs identify the various natural manifestations with her own mood. For such a lack of genuine intimacy with nature there are, of course, historical reasons, and literary historians remind us that the Jews have been preëminently inhabitants of towns. When, in addition to this, we recall that the beginnings of Yiddish poetry, as indeed the beginnings of Yiddish itself, are connected with a strong didactic purpose, it is easy to understand why so little of the pure nature song is to be found, and why natural beauty is so rarely its own excuse for being. Yet in the hands of the true poet this identification of mood with nature adds to both rather than detracts from either; it is a part of the primitive that lies so near to the heart

Digitized by Google

of true poetry; the bird that sings of lost youth, the tree that symbolizes the winter of life, the cloud that will carry a greeting to loved ones across the sea. Until very recent days the reader of Yiddish poetry has been impatient with mere technique. Like the Russian, he demands thought above all else and will overlook much for its sake. "That is not necessarily worthy which is beautiful," Linetzki has written. "Only that is beautiful which is worthy."

The Five Epochs of Yiddish Poetry

IN the short but adequate historical introduction furnished to Bassin's anthology by Mr. B. Borochov, the story of Yiddish poetry is divided into five chief periods, with various subdivisions.

1. 1400 to 1800. In the first subdivision of this wide epoch the German Jews rule Yiddish literature, while the smallest rôle is played by the Polish, Czech and Dutch Jews. Borochov suggests that some of the early plays in Yiddish may have been written in the seventeenth century, although they were not printed until the eighteenth. Despite a broad prevalence of childishness and naïveté, and a lack of sustained power, both tone and style at times attained a high level. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the chief poetic forms were introduced. The second subdivision of this epoch lasts through the eighteenth century until the complete decadence of poetry among the German Jews; it is, in fact, marked by a dearth of talent, bad taste and general feebleness. Borochov ascribes this state of affairs to the era of assimilation, which began before the Mendelssohnian movement. The masses sank very low and were restricted in Ghettos.

II. In the second large period of Yiddish poetry, literary supremacy migrates from Germany to Poland and Russia. This is the epoch of the folk-song, in which Yiddish is particularly rich—of the poems and the songs of the wedding-jester, a type that deserves far more extended treatment in English than has yet been accorded it. At first, of course, the work of the wedding-jesters (badchens) was childish and inept; it lacked idea and imagination until the work of such men as Michael Gordon, Berel Broder and Eliokum Zunzer raised it to distinction.

III. This is called the classical epoch, and is signalized by such names as Frug, Perez and Rosenfeld. The first wrote more in Russian than in Yiddish; the second, although the author of many worthy poems, is known best of all in his wonderful prose, and was one of the greatest writers produced in any country during the nineteenth century; the third may be said to bridge a span between the classical and the modern period.

IV. The modern period, too well known to dwell upon, is initiated, according to Borochov, with Raisin (noted also in Yiddish prose fiction as the "Jewish Chekhov"), Lyessin (at present editor of the New York Jewish monthly, *Die Zukunft*) and "Yehoash," which is the pseudonym of that excellent and insufficiently appreciated poet, Sol Bloomgarden.

V. Close upon the heels of the foregoing comes the fifth and last division: the "Young" school, which began in America and spread thence to the old country.

Digitized by Google

The "Young" School: Their Vanity and Preciosity

PROMINENT in this "young" group of the fifth epoch, which as yet lacks the homogeneity of a genuine school, are such men as Mane Layb, Menachem, Rolnick, Halperin, and the talented young lady Fradel Stock. The "young" school already possesses its own most sympathetic critic in the person of Noah Steinberg, who in his recent book "Young America" discusses the work of ten of the "youngsters," treating among these six of the better known poets. Incidentally Mr. Steinberg reveals a "young" type of criticism that ranges all the way from sycophantic admiration and all the abuses of the newspaper interview at its worst to passages of truly remarkable insight into an author. The new group, as Borochov pointed out and as the very title of Steinberg's book declares, found their inspiration in America. The "youngsters" are first of all avowedly egocentric. Nothing interests them so much as their own selves. They are Freudianly frank about this. "When we write about ourselves," says Ignatov, a talented writer of tales, "we write about all those among whom we have grown up." The new generation, above all, wants to be itself and to know itself. "Of course we like to talk about ourselves," asserts another, "and isn't self as interesting, for instance, as the weather?" . . . "We don't say that our way is the right one," says Mayshe Nadir with characteristic paradox. "We know that we often go astray. But wandering about in such a manner is our goal." Amongst many of the new writers is an air of preciosity, or romantic emptiness of life, and of pose that recalls "l'homme fatal" of the days of 1880. They seek novelty. They introduce into Yiddish the poetry and mood of Persia through Hafiz, for example; of China, through poetry of the sort that the younger American poets have been translating into English; they have put the better work of the young Americans into Yiddish, as witness Ignatov's translation of John Gould Fletcher's "Indian Songs." Individuality, novelty, the beauty of mystery, the magic of mood—all these and more in the service of self-expression and self-expansion: such is the aim of the "young" Jewish group.

It is the special virtue of Bassin's anthology that it affords us a synoptic view of these five centuries of poetic activity. While there is little in the very early selections to attract the seeker after the truly poetic, there is much, on the other hand, to interest the student and the literary historian, and to provoke fruitful speculation. Many of the early efforts were translations, as one would naturally suppose.

Why There Are So Few Love Songs in Yiddish Poetry

AT first blush it seems strange beyond understanding that a language so rich in lyrics should reveal such a dearth of love songs. Only as recently as Perez we hear that great writer complaining in his ballad "Monisch" that it is hard for him to sing of love in a tongue that lacks the words for "love" and "sweetheart." Yet here again the conditions of Jewish life and its traditions have operated, as in many other instances, to produce such an anomaly. The love song has undergone a struggle even in Hebrew, and its progress in

Digitized by Google

Yiddish poetry was at first no doubt impeded by just such a spirit as breathes in the words of Maimonides, who wrote in his "Guide": "The gift of speech which God gave us to help us learn and teach and perfect ourselves—this gift of speech must not be employed in doing what is degrading and disgraceful. We must not imitate the songs and tales of ignorant and lascivious people. It may be suitable to them, but it is not for those who are bidden, 'Ye shall be a holy nation.'" There is even a stronger reason why love, until comparatively recent days, should have played so small a part in Yiddish poetry. Romantic love among the Jews is a comparatively new institution.

If the early and the longest period of Yiddish poetry is interesting to most people merely from the standpoint of tardy, slowly developed origins, technical vagaries and sporadic outbursts, the folksong is rich in that intimacy, spontaneity and pure-sourced feeling that reveal the people from whose lips and out of whose life it has sprung. In a sense, even the later poetry, which is not usually thought of in connection with the folksong, is but a prolongation and sophistication of it; Yiddish poets, perhaps more than those of any other people, retain to this very day the characteristics that render the folksong so intimate in content and so direct in appeal. Indeed, the same reasons that have been suggested for the lack of a really Jewish epic, despite a wealth of tradition and material that might have been employed, may go far to explain this persistent folk character of later Yiddish poetry. For if a people that has been denied nationality will naturally be found lacking in those attributes that glorify national heroes in songs of epic proportion, for the same reason their consciousness as a folk will grow all the stronger. It is just this consciousness that has colored so much of the poetry they have written; the folk mood is almost as characteristic of Yiddish poetry as is the lyric strain.

Swift Evolution Through Many Moods

WHEN one speaks of classic, modern and "young" epochs in the history of a people's poetry, it is hard to believe that all these periods could be spanned by the life of one man. Nor should such a man need to be very old to have lived through the corresponding epochs in Yiddish poetry. Speaking roughly, the neo-classic period runs from 1885 to 1900, the modern from 1900 to 1905, from which date the "youngsters" enter the lists. For such a rapid succession of eras there exists, no doubt, sufficient reason in the history of the preceding centuries, during which Yiddish was slowly evolving a tongue and a technique. The peculiar circumstances of Yiddish life, too, which often resulted in such sudden changes of status, would have their effect, coupled with the fact that models have always existed within easy reach of Yiddish creative spirits. A similar rapidity of evolution is witnessed in the history of the Yiddish stage, which, since its beginnings in 1876, fairly rushed by the milestones on the road from elementary biblical plays and folk farce with music, to sober realism, often heightened by the turgidly grotesque, and thence to the imagery, color, poetry, passion of Pinski and Hirschbein, who are more read than produced.

Digitized by Google

The nineteenth century was thus a many-mooded one. It begins with a light, even gay tone in Yiddish poetry; with the approach of the middle years the didactic tone grows louder, for the trumpet-call of progress has sounded; with the eighties comes a sudden set-back, due to the era of anti-Semite riots, and poetry, which is usually at once sensitive to outward change in the hopes and despairs of a folk, reflects the saddened, disillusioned spirit of its people.

The "Neo-Classics"

THE neo-classics are too well known to require much comment here. Perez and Frug, by coming to Yiddish, sacrificed glorious careers in a better-known and more widely read tongue. That they realized this is shown in some of their verse. Of Perez's masterly "Wedding Gown" it has been written that "if Thomas Hood's 'Song of the Shirt' is to be compared to a fine instrument, then this poem is a whole orchestra from the sounds of which the walls of Jericho would fall" (Wiener). It will interest readers to learn that the "Wedding Gown" is being translated into English. Morris Rosenfeld is thus far better known in English than any other Yiddish poet. Of the moderns, Raisin and "Yehoash" are deserving of far wider accessibility to English readers. The "young" group is performing one important service: it is introducing new themes and revivifying the rhymes, metres and general technique of Yiddish.

Mr. Bassin's task was, at best, not an easy one. The performance of a similar task for English or French, let us say (granting the critical ability necessary to its consummation), has for its purpose ready to hand a host of volumes containing the works from which the choice is to be made. Not so with Yiddish. Here the best work is often hidden in the files of a newspaper or a magazine that sprang up at night and perished next morning—like the gourd that God sent to protect Jonah. There is an immense floating literature in the sea of Yiddish journalism, much of which must elude the most watchful eye. It is natural, too, in works of this nature, that what they gain in a synoptic view they must lose in individual representation. But perhaps this accords well with the purpose of the anthologist, who, as his title indicates, is interested first of all in the poetry, not the poets. Herein, too, lies part of the real significance of Bassin's two volumes, which come as added evidence of the literary renaissance taking place among the Jews. The work has national and racial as well as purely literary importance; it is a stride forward in a people's self-consciousness that has been much in evidence since the beginning of the war which apparently has won back for them the Holy Land.

Isaac Goldberg

Digitized by Google

The Pageant of New York Jewry

By Marvin M. Lowenthal

THE first impression of the *Jewish Communal Register of New York City** classifies it among the "Did You Know" books. A "Did You Know" book, I need hardly explain, is the kind that induces you, as soon as you look into it, to exclaim to your friends, "Did you know that glass is more elastic than rubber?" or "Did *you* know that nine-tenths of the American people earn less than one-tenth of the inhabitants of Iceland?" or "Did you *know* that Campbell's Soup was first introduced into Japan by Yemenite pirates?" and so on, in an indeterminate stream of startling erudition. Such books are composed of the escaped from Egypt—a mixed multitude. The class embraces world-almanacs, Whitakers, compendiums, cyclopedias, and handbooks of literary, musical, topographical, and culinary allusions; and the time spent in reading them is the zero-hour in self-education.

MARVIN M. LOWENTHAL, who is now Director of the Zionist Bureau for the Pacific Coast, San Francisco, will be remembered by our readers as the author of "Zionism: A Menorah Prize Essay," in the April and June, 1915, numbers of The Menorah Journal. Mr. Lowenthal (born in Bradford, Pa., 1890) is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin in the class of 1915.

For the past month I have been drunk on New York Jewry. I have been intoxicated with the knowledge that out of the 900,000 Jews who are capable of attending a synagogue, only 89,000 hear an English sermon on Rosh Hashonah; that 76.5% of the little Rachels and Jacobs (or Rosalinds and James') never get good-conduct cards on Sundays because they never go to Sunday-school; and that "of poets alone" Yiddish letters boasts of "about 800, and over 200 came after the advent of Peretz." I have piqued my friends with the thoughtful information that out of 1960 presidents of Jewish organizations in New York City, 152 were American born and that 31.2% of them had more than fifty candles in their last birthday cake; I have advised them that the Russian-Polish Progressive Credit Union issues loans at a 1% rate of interest; and I have warned them that the Yiddish newspapers have lost a daily circulation of 126,295 in the last year. No one can trifle with me these days concerning the Jewish problem in America. Do you know that a New York Jew who goes in for fraternal insurance spends on an average $16.22 a year? Do you realize that the United Hebrew Trades has as many members as there are Jewish men, women, and children in Great Britain—including Ireland? Has it been told you that the dexterous workers in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union outnumber the inhabitants of Nineveh who didn't know their right hand from their left?

* *The Jewish Communal Register of New York City*, 1917-1918. Edited and published by the Kehillah (Jewish Community) of New York City, 1918.

Digitized by Google

THE Register is in reality a great printed pageant. Before you come to the title page the mammoth stage is revealed—a map of Greater New York, twelve by eighteen inches, in which, on a smaller scale, South America, Canada, Germany, France, Great Britain, Holland, Palestine, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland are floating about, like sour-milk clots, to represent the proportional preponderance of New York in the matter of Jewish population. It is vivid, and if one has a distaste for Jews in quantity, it is terrifying. Should the editor of *Life* see this map, he wouldn't sleep for weeks. I know of Jews too who would tremble—Jews upon whom the fear of Mordecai has fallen.

The cast for this pageant occupies eighty pages—a careful and novel calculation which deduces a population of one and one-half million Jews for New York City. This total is based on the number of school children who absent themselves from school on Rosh Hashonah and Yom Kippur, and the number of absentees are checked against a computation of Jewish names in the school enrolment. A million and one-half is in many respects a proud figure, something to swell the bosoms of Fathers Abraham and Knickerbocker. It means that of all the Jews in the world, one in ten lives in New York, and that every fifth New Yorker is a Jew. On the other hand, anyone who visits New York or anyone conversant with Jewish life in general knows that this number does not live up to its expectations. New York, as any greener from Pinsk realizes, has made a great impression on the Jew; the Jew, however, has made only a superficial impression on New York. You say, but? Save your "buts"—I know what an impression a foreign people, well-knit in its customs and close knit in its marriages *can* make on an American city, for I have seen the Chinese only twenty thousand strong in San Francisco. You can correctly assert that the Jews make as deep and characteristic an impression as the Italians or the Poles, but that is another way of saying that it is almost no impression whatever. Americanization, perhaps mostly unconscious, is responsible for this evident effacement of Jewishness. Not a good thing? Of course it is—for America and American Jews. But Jewish pride in this formidable figure of one and one-half million totters when you realize that it spells effacement for one-tenth of our people. Moreover, this pride is not propped by further understanding that if one-tenth of our people, living compact in one city, can't even save their beards, little can be hoped for elsewhere in the Diaspora. A comparison of the Jewish achievements of New York since the turn of the century with the things put through, in flesh and spirit, by the Jewish colonists of Palestine, whose numbers would not populate twenty East Side blocks, will persuade you not to argue the point. You may begin to dream, instead.

WHEN we come to consider the pageant itself, that is, the contents of our Jewish Communal Register, all canons of criticism break down. Dr. Johnson once said that good criticism first defines what the work under consideration should accomplish and then demonstrates how far it succeeds. However, even Koheleth would concede a Jewish Communal Register to be something new under the sun; up to this year 5679 not a man in Israel could claim to recognize a Communal Register if he saw one, much less distinguish a good one

Digitized by Google

from a bad. The editors of the work are the sole arbiters of its purposes and limitations; theirs is the happy lot of a prime creator. After six days of labor, they may declare their work good, and as in an analogous case, since no one knows what the ultimate aim should be, who can dispute the verdict? The creators of the Register have not been unmindful of their peculiar opportunity and have thoughtfully limited it by prefacing the book with a statement of its purposes.

"Their first task, it would seem, is to help the community know itself, as it is at present. To perform this indispensable service for the Jews of New York City, 'The Jewish Communal Register' has been projected and published. Two principles have guided the editors in their work. A Jewish communal directory, to be of genuine service, must, on the one hand, present as complete a list as possible of Jewish communal activities. . . . On the other hand, the Register must be more than a mere directory of names and addresses. It must interpret as well. . . . Out of this material must be molded a comprehensive community program . . . not only because through it attention will be focused on the more urgent needs of the community . . . but also because Jewish men and women eager to help will be in a better position to determine for themselves in what direction they could serve most effectively."

It would be ungracious simply to say that a Register in this sense has not been achieved, for the editors frankly admit that their success has so far been partial; but it is just and necessary to indicate certain remedial causes of their coming tardily off, and to question the feasibility of ever reaching the goal with the means they have chosen.

THEY have set out to help New York Jewry know itself. One aid to self-knowledge, they wisely believe, is an exhaustive directory of Jewish communal activities. So far as I know, who cannot check off a single figure or certify a solitary address, but who can only admire the bulk and detail of the work, the editors have in this respect striven mightily and accomplished much. More than one-half the book, or, approximately, 800 pages (I too wax statistical) run to names of societies, addresses of presidents and secretaries, and brief summaries of "objects and purposes." Unfortunately a directory of this kind goes stale as rapidly as beer in July; perhaps I should say fortunately, for it augurs a new edition annually.

In the new editions, however, a severe jacking-up of the interpretive aspect of the work is imperative. At present the statistics and directory are divided into nine groups, such as Religious Agencies, Educational Agencies, Recreational-Cultural Agencies and Economic Agencies, and these are subdivided into equally organic sections. Preceding each section, like a banner in a parade, is a modest four or five page sketch of the activities that follow and the problems they involve. This is the "interpretation." These shrinking editorial violets are about as informative as the publishers' book-review on the cover of the best-seller. The tone, however, is usually one of alarm rather than praise—the great majority of New York Jews have no religious affiliations or interests whatever; the rabbonim are grossly underpaid; the cantors need more con-

Digitized by Google

sideration; the shochetim are tyrannical; the mohelim warrant supervision; the sabbath is unobserved; religion touches the Jewish child even more lightly than the adult, for less than one in four receive any religious or Hebrew schooling; recreation possesses little Jewish character; industrial regulation and control is haphazard; the mutual aid organizations, which nearly equal the synagogues and temples in membership, are run on a dubious financial basis; and so it goes. The remedies proposed seem to be the same for all—communal organization and control, and funds.

FOR a variety of reasons a few chapters stand out as exceptional. A few contributors were frank to throw off the pose of learned disquisition—Isaac Even writes a half-dozen pages of clever tosh on Chassidism; someone with equal wit and greater seriousness deals with problems of Kashruth, and I hope that some day he will give the world his promised history of kosher signs. Again, a few—a very few—writers give genuinely informative articles; S. Margoshes, despite his faulty English, presents an exhaustive account of the Jewish press, and I am sure he does not take too seriously the Sunday school admonishment he has tacked to its conclusion. The surveys of the national organizations are for the most part satisfactory cyclopedic material. Joel Enteen has written a farrago on Yiddish literature the publication of which is a monument to the courage of the editors. It is the best bit of self-revealment and self-interpretation in the book; here we have Yiddish ignorance, impudence, and claptrap, the veneer of pseudo-learning, the old culture half-abandoned and the new imperfectly assimilated, that lies at the root of many of the conditions the Register catalogues and attempts to interpret. Mr. Enteen handles ideas as Dogberry handles words, and it was thoughtful of the editors not to translate his article into English. Presumably they mean it to be a specimen of the New York communal tongue.

As a whole, however, the essays comprise obvious generalities which cannot be dignified with the title of interpretation. For that, there must be vivid representation of the facts, a definite correlation with a theory of Jewish life based both on these facts and on their relation to wider wholes and living purposes. Directions for future activity must be more than sign-posts giving the destination and the mileage; something must be said of the nature of the road and the vehicle to be used. Finally, a vision which is hard to define and which is usually associated with creative thinking must be brought into illuminative play.

THE Register's treatment of one of the most serious problems of Jewish communal life, in New York or elsewhere, will illustrate its weakness. Less than one-third of the New York Jews have any connection with the synagogue. Attendance on the high holidays amounts to about 415,000, and it likely dwindles to about one-tenth of that on an ordinary Sabbath. In the Bushwick and Richmond districts, with a population of about 100,000, a number equal to the total Jewish population of Cleveland (or of France) 93% never

Digitized by Google

attend a religious service. Consideration of this grave state of affairs falls to Dr. M. M. Kaplan, professor of Homiletics at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. He devotes six pages to it. Professor Kaplan, I know, is capable of presenting a provocative and thoughtful treatment of this blight which, as he says, " is indicative, more than anything else can be, of the rapid disintegration of Jewish life," and he does nothing of the kind. This is not a criticism of Professor Kaplan, who from all appearances simply dashed off a few sheets at the request of the editors, but of the editors themselves who permitted the publication of this and a score of similar makeshifts.

Professor Kaplan first devotes a couple of pages to the historic importance of the synagogue, enforcing his opinion that it " rendered possible the cultivation of the spiritual life of the Diaspora," and that next to the Bible it is the Jews' foremost contribution to mankind. His recognition of the historic value of this institution renders particularly exasperating his explanation of the weakening of Jewish sentiment which maintained it. " Many elements," he says, " undoubtedly have contributed to the undermining of that sentiment, but chief of all is the dwindling of the Sabbath observance." This is indisputably true, but it amounts to saying that people don't go because they stay away. A few more pages elaborate the statistics of this lamentable falling off; and the conclusion is reached that without the synagogue the Jews have scarcely a reason to exist, and therefore at all costs attendance must be secured.

CERTAINLY the readers of THE MENORAH JOURNAL, who have at their disposal numerous stimulating discussions of the stern problems besetting the Jewish religion and its institutions, do not need to be told how this particular subject should be treated. Neither do Professor Kaplan and the editors of the Register. They are well aware of the multifarious forces undermining Jewish religious life—economic, social and scientific—and they are likewise aware of the necessity of radically changing these conditions or changing the religion or shifting its emphasis in Jewish life; and they either might have explained these things or have abandoned any attempt at interpretation. Finally, the most disappointing thing about Professor Kaplan's essay is that it is typical of the majority of papers in the book.

This general failure, which could be remedied in piecemeal by rewriting the individual articles, bring up the possibility that success on the interpretive side of the work is on the whole out of reach. The Register represents so vast an undertaking and brings together such diffuse and significant information that interpretation is clearly necessary; but I doubt if anything short of a twelve-cylinder novel on the scale of a Jean-Christophe could accomplish it. The miracle of a score of Joel Enteens, the glass of fashion and the mold of form of his particular subject matter, is frankly impossible. (Imagine a rabbi posing the religious problem by exposing himself!) And, then, how many more of the " Jewish men and women eager to help " would respond than will master the present work? Saviors of Jewry require information, but information will not save us. Dr. S. Benderly and his co-workers, whose labor is chiefly responsible for this amazing Jewish pageant, can render the Jewish

Digitized by Google

future of New York a service by further assiduous compilation; but vision and genuine leadership are still with the gods. The Register is not the work of a Kehillah, but the plea for one, or the proof it can never come into being.

Marie M Lowenthal.

"JOB as a Greek Tragedy" will be the subject of a "four-act" feature in the next number of THE MENORAH JOURNAL. *From the Bible to Euripides, and from the classic alcoves of Cambridge University to the present-day theatre on Broadway, will be the range and scope of this group of articles. Professor Gilbert Murray, the world's greatest authority on Euripides, will give a sympathetic opinion on the theory of Dr. H. M. Kallen that the Book of Job was deliberately written on the model of a Euripidean tragedy. Dr. Max Radin, who has made a special study of Jewish life in the Greek and Roman periods, will treat Dr. Kallen's theory with less tender mercy. Stuart Walker, who, as this note is written, is presenting the "Book of Job" as a drama in a Broadway theatre, will give his theory of the dramatic value of the Old Testament classic for present-day theatregoers. In conclusion will be given a* MENORAH *critic's impressions of Stuart Walker's production.*

Probably the first dramatic production of the Book of Job on any stage, it is interesting to note, was made by the Harvard Menorah Society at Jordan Hall, Boston, on May 8, 1915.

Digitized by Google

The Menorah Educational Conference

A NOTABLE event in the progress of the Menorah movement took place on December 28th and 29th, 1918, when professors and instructors from seventeen institutions of learning convened at the Menorah headquarters in New York City, at the invitation of the Intercollegiate Menorah Association, to consider the question of Jewish studies in American colleges and universities. This Conference marked the beginning of the Menorah Bar-Mitzvah year, the first Menorah Society having been organized at Harvard in December, 1906. Since that time the movement has spread to over seventy colleges and universities in the United States and Canada.

Chancellor Henry Hurwitz presented a Memorandum to the Conference, indicating the significance of the Menorah ideal at the present time and outlining a number of proposals for the advancement of "Menorah Education" in the universities. (The Memorandum is given in full below.) In accordance with his recommendation, a permanent "Menorah Educational Conference" was organized, to meet semi-annually and to include in its membership all university instructors and administrators, Jewish and non-Jewish, interested in Jewish studies as an integral part of higher education in America.

The Officers and Executive Committee elected are: Chairman, Mr. Hurwitz; Vice-Chairman, Capt. Nathan Isaacs, Military Intelligence Division, U. S. A., Washington (lately Acting Dean of University of Cincinnati Law School); Secretary, Mr. Adolph S. Oko, Librarian, Hebrew Union College; and Dr. Alexander M. Dushkin, Bureau of Jewish Education, New York; Prof. Israel Friedlaender, Jewish Theological Seminary; Prof. Richard Gottheil, Columbia University; Dr. I. L. Kandel, Teachers' College and Carnegie Foundation; Prof. Simon Litman, University of Illinois; Prof. Max L. Margolis, The Dropsie College; Dr. Max Radin, Columbia University; and Dr. H. A. Wolfson, Harvard University.

Thus, as their Bar-Mitzvah gift to the Menorah movement, the instructors have organized themselves to co-operate with the students in a systematic and creative way towards the upbuilding of Jewish learning and ideals in our universities. It is a great step towards "the progressive naturalization of the Jewish intellectual and spiritual life" in this country; and its successful development (which depends solely upon whether sufficient resources will be provided by the community) may confidently be counted on to raise the dignity and significance of American Jewry.

In this connection it may also be noted that considerable progress is now being made as well in the organization of Graduate Menorah Societies in various cities throughout the United States and Canada, and a federation of such Societies is contemplated for the near future. Thus, not only the faculties and the students, but also the community at large, through the graduates and other public-spirited men and women, will be brought together in the Menorah movement for the effective advancement of the Menorah objects both within and without the university walls.

Leopold Zunz Memorial Lecture

At the first session of the Conference on December 28th, Mr. Adolph S. Oko read a paper on "Leopold Zunz: In Commemoration of the Centenary of the New Jewish Learning," apropos of the one-hundredth anniversary of the publication of Zunz's *Etwas ueber die rabbinische Literatur* (1818). It is planned

Digitized by Google

to have a "Leopold Zunz Memorial Lecture" annually at the December meeting of the Conference.

On Sunday evening, December 29th, Joseph M. Proskauer, Esq., Chairman of the Menorah Board of Governors, gave an informal dinner at the New York City Club to the members of the Conference. Various aspects of the Menorah purposes and plans, and the development of Jewish scholarship and Jewish culture in America, were discussed.

A Memorandum on Menorah Education

Presented to the Menorah Educational Conference
(Dec. 28, 1918)

By Henry Hurwitz
Chancellor, Intercollegiate Menorah Association

The Menorah Spirit

WE have come to a point where we must systematize, enlarge and render far more effective the work of the Menorah movement. This is the Menorah's Bar-Mitzvah year. No graver period than the present has ever challenged the coming of age of a Jewish educational organization.

The Menorah point of view is now pretty well established. It has weathered threats and decoys from various partisan quarters, ecclesiastical and political, and has come through stronger than ever in its essential academic, non-partisan character. Today the general conditions of ferment, dissolution, reconstruction, make our essential character all the more justified, nay, imperative. What we need above all today is Jewish education in the pure university spirit. "The university spirit," said President Wilson the other day, upon receiving his Doctor's degree from the University of Paris, "is intolerant of all things that put the human mind under restraint. It is intolerant of everything that seeks to retard the advancement of ideals, the acceptance of the truth, the purification of life; and every university man can ally himself with the forces of the present time with the feeling that now at last the spirit of truth, the spirit to which universities have devoted themselves, has prevailed and is triumphant."

This spirit of the university must prevail and become triumphant in Jewry. A happy augury of the new time is the founding of a modern Hebrew University on the Mount of Olives. But in our own country no less, Jewish higher education must be effectually promoted and be made to infuse our whole life. There must be a vindication of the classic Jewish tradition of learning, or at least the spirit of learning, in broad commonalty spread. Furthermore, Jewish life and learning must be definitely woven into the skein of the American community and of western civilization at large. The Jewish Renaissance, started a century ago, must be itself renewed, reinvigorated, in order to bring about a genuine Jewish Reformation, a fundamental readjustment of the Jewish historical tradition with the intellectual and spiritual progress of our great era. It is in this way that the Menorah means "to advance Jewish Culture and Ideals."

The Larger Menorah Program

GIVEN the point of view and the task of the Menorah, how shall we render our work as effective, as fruitful as possible?

The Menorah activities in the past represent as much educational effectiveness as was possible in the initial stages of our movement—in the period of organization and explanation of our general principles

Digitized by Google

and purposes; of spontaneous growth and experimental programs; of inadequate resources, both of men and of money, for original, creative, sustained educational endeavor. To be sure, beyond the planting of the Menorah organization in our universities (in itself a creative work), we have, according to all witnesses, at least one original achievement of the first water to our credit—THE MENORAH JOURNAL. That may be offered as an earnest of what our spirit and organization can achieve, given adequate support from scholars, graduates, and the public at large. It is for such comprehensive support and co-operation that the Menorah now bids, upon "coming of age." And in pursuit of it the following is submitted in the first place to this Conference, outlining the plans for making Menorah Education an effective instrument towards the most intelligent and spiritual Jewish life in America.

This larger Menorah Program may be divided into three parts.

First: The work of the Menorah Societies—of all extra-curricular activities in our colleges and universities—must be made as attractive and stimulating as possible to the students and faculties.

Second: The Jewish humanities, modern "Jewish Science," must be established in the college and university curricula, constituting an integral part of the liberal education offered by our higher institutions of learning.

Third: Literature, lectures, study, in the Menorah spirit, must be provided scientifically and attractively for graduates and other like-minded men and women, in the community at large, non-Jewish as well as Jewish. For the Jew needs not only to know himself, but to make himself properly known to his neighbor. (Perhaps this is the only way of undermining the "higher anti-Semitism.")

In this last direction our JOURNAL has already proven an effective instrument. But with this whole third part, this statement will not concern itself. "Menorah Extension Education" is a subject to be handled by itself, in due course.

It is the first and second parts which will here be treated.

Extra-Curricular Menorah Education

FIRST, as to extra-curricular activities. This statement will not consider the relations of the Menorah Societies to other Jewish student organizations, fraternities, etc.,—except to point out that insofar as these are not opposed to the Menorah purposes, the Menorah is anxious to work in co-operation with them in behalf of a common ideal of Jewish study and Jewish service.

Of the means adopted by the Menorah Societies to carry out their aims, only three will be here presented, namely: lectures, forums, and study circles, because they offer sufficient basis for the consideration of the whole problem of extra-curricular education.

(A) *Lectures*

WITHOUT derogating from such value as disconnected, more or less improvised lectures have, and without involving their discontinuance, it is submitted as obvious that in order to be most effective lectures must be carefully thought out, documented (with outlines, references, questions, etc.), and attractively presented, whether singly or in series, by competent, trained lecturers. Assuming the proper administration of such lectures (a matter merely of organization), the steps to be taken are as follows:

(1) Engage the services of competent scholars and lecturers for a definite time —a week, month, year, or more—at an adequate compensation. By "adequate" is meant not the wage of unskilled labor but of professional service of a high sort. The knowledge and ability of such men are their capital, their means of decent livelihood; "sponging" upon them, as Jewish organizations (not excluding ourselves) do notoriously, is even in the short run demoralizing, both to the men and to the public. Moreover, a straightforward professional arrangement (and

Digitized by Google

only that) makes possible consistently high, responsible work, involving adequate preparation, full accountability to the organization, etc.

(2) Train men, especially promising young men, to become Menorah lecturers and forum-leaders. Such men, having the right attitude and the right kind of personalities, can at the same time be fitted to serve for Menorah organization purposes and *morale* (maintenance of Menorah spirit and enthusiasm among the students). Thus field work could be combined with instruction.

(3) Prepare syllabi, lecture outlines, reference material—the whole literary and pedagogical paraphernalia — indispensably necessary to make Menorah lectures stimulating and fruitful even after the fragrance of the lecturer is departed.

(B) *Forums*

FORUMS are often considered as only specialized forms of lectures, but a forum of pure gem is a creature of altogether different nature from a lecture. Not merely that the forum is much less formal than the lecture, that it is almost exclusively given over to current and more or less controversial matters (as of course lectures may be as well), but the element of give-and-take with the audience is of its essence. Hence, forums not only require leaders particularly trained in the art of Socratic midwifery, but also an audience well-read and mentally on tiptoe. Two conditions are therefore indispensable for worth-while Menorah forums:

(1) Younger men (whether in years or in outlook), Menorah graduates, civic-minded professional and business men (perhaps better than weighty scholars) should be definitely trained, both as to subject matter and manner of address, in the art of forum-leading. The special art of handling crowds of Jewish students is a rather difficult one, and many a scholar and divine and layman has come to grief over it, either through lack of honest knowledge or through some shortage of fact or temper. The Menorah simply cannot afford to trust any man touch-and-go with forums. He must first be put through an education.

(2) On the other hand, students have to be impressed with the amenities of intellectual give-and-take, one of the chief of which is the necessity of talking only from one's own sure knowledge or from an honest desire to get at the knowledge or views of the leader. Mere heckling to worry the speaker, mere smartness or "bull" (in the not too elegant undergraduate phrase) should be as little countenanced in the pupils as in Gamaliel. If we can induce the right approach towards a Menorah forum on the part of the students, it should prove the most stimulating way of making them alive to the great Jewish issues of the day; of bringing them to understand the true significance of striding events; and above all of developing in them that open-mindedness, that unabashed curiosity to know and canvass not only the facts but all the viewpoints, without which they are merely puppets of party passions and party organizations.

How to bring about these results is a problem then not merely of training the leaders but of equipping the students. There we must bring in the arts of publicity, of arousing curiosity as to vital Jewish matters, of fomenting the strife of Hillel and Shammai in the young brood. In short, there must be cunningly contrived advertisements of subjects, and literature to vie in form and content with the popular prints of the day. It is no disgrace for us to take leaves out of the books of our successful vendors of more palpable but hardly more material goods. If this is an heretical point of view as applied to Jewish literature and education, the Menorah must be the first Jewish spiritual industry to put business and "pep" into this sacred (and hitherto rather dull) domain. We have to recognize the fact that for the mass of college populations, as for the great majority beyond the college walls, clever (but honest) advertisement is the chief form of stimulus. Our forum-leaders must be in a

Digitized by Google

sense drummers and promoters of our intellectual goods.

(C) *Study Circles*

STUDY CIRCLES even more than forums depend for their sustained effectiveness as well as for their sheer appeal to begin with, upon the personality and ability of the leader. Sometimes students will stick to a circle because of their particular interest in the subject matter, but an uninspired and untrained leader will finally shoo off the most ardent. Next, literature—literature different in character from forum material but not less requiring the elements of outward attractiveness as well as substance—is indispensable: syllabi, outlines, leaflets of various kinds, source-books, texts, etc.—not forbidding as the material of regular courses often is. For it is to be remembered that Menorah Study Circles not only call for extra study hours, but offer no points or marks to the student towards his degree. (Where Menorah study circles succeed in getting accepted for points by the authorities, a different situation is presented; see *infra* on Curricular Menorah Education.)

Here as before it can only be repeated that in addition to providing the right literature and general guidance, the Menorah has to train leaders.

Training Menorah Leaders

WITHOUT further descanting upon the qualifications and the tasks of Menorah leaders, and without meaning to exhaust the various ways of bringing them forth, the following two proposals are submitted for practical consideration:

(1) *Menorah Teaching Fellows*

The first proposal has nothing novel about it, save in the special application of a general university practice. If we are earnest about Menorah education and mean to build it up, we can do no better than adopt some of the proven means of established branches of university learning, which, to the detriment of Jewish studies, have been drawing upon the best spirits and intellects of our Jewish youth. One thing is perfectly clear, that until the promoters of Jewish scholarship—as distinguished from the equipment of Jewish divines—are prepared to offer the same inducements (at least the same) as are offered to students and instructors of other, at present far more attractive fields of scholarship, Jewish scholarship will not invite the best striving minds among our youth. It is a perfectly simple situation. The prime inducements, not of scholarship as such but of special fields of scholarship, are position and remuneration. The following proposal is but the first modest step towards acclimating western educational methods in the hoary but almost deserted fields of Jewish scholarship in our universities.

To encourage students to fit themselves to become competent Menorah study circle leaders—and later, assistants and instructors in the regular curriculum (see *infra* on Curricular Menorah Education); and in order to make it economically possible for men to devote themselves to Jewish scholarship, either temporarily or with view of a career in Jewish scholarship (incidentally also enabling some deserving students to pursue the intellectual life)—let Menorah Teaching Fellowships be established in a number of the larger universities to begin with, say ten, carrying each a stipend of $500 a year. Menorah Teaching Fellows to undertake to pursue Jewish studies of a definite character and amount, and also to conduct Menorah study circles and be responsible for certain other Menorah activities at their universities. The details need not be gone into here; they are easily worked out. But this is important: Menorah Fellows doing sufficiently promising work, both in research and instruction, to be reappointed for another one-year or a two-year term, and then, if their work on all counts is sufficiently promising and satisfactory, to be recommended for and provided with instructorships or professorships in Menorah Chairs. The implications of this last provision will be brought out presently.

Digitized by Google

(2) *Menorah Summer School*

IN the second practical proposal there is again nothing novel, except possibly in applying a good old Jewish institution, perhaps as old as Jochanan ben Zakkai, to American conditions of the present day. It is proposed as one means of developing Menorah lecturers, forum leaders, study circle leaders, and also Teaching Fellows, and in due time Menorah instructors and professors.

Let the summer vacations be taken advantage of by bringing together scholars, both Jewish and non-Jewish, understanding and expressing the Menorah point of view, graduate students and upperclassmen who have evinced a serious interest in Jewish learning or have carried on Menorah administration creditably (a not ignoble spur to Menorah officers). Let such a company, carefully selected, live together for the period of two or three months, in a democratic kind of brotherhood in some agreeable country spot, where study, discussion, and recreational life in the open might be combined. (You recall the psalmist's ideal!) Those students passing certain prescribed tests at the end of the season to be awarded appropriate credits, which should count in the appointment of Menorah Teaching Fellows and the incumbents of Menorah Chairs.

Curricular Menorah Education

FROM what has been presented already, as well as from the logic of the general position, it must be clear that the systematizing of Menorah Education necessarily involves the larger and larger inclusion of Jewish studies—Jewish history, literature, modern Jewish life and thought, treated in the purely university spirit, *sans* theological bias—in the curricula of our colleges and universities. That is the splendid fulfilment of the Menorah program, not rendering Menorah Societies less needful but rather more so, and even more honored and more attractive to the general student bodies. Compare, for example, the relations of the Cercle Français to the regular courses in French history and culture. Already, as at Harvard, a Menorah beginning in the curriculum has been made. The developments in this direction will mean the progressive naturalization of the Jewish intellectual and spiritual life in the western world. What it will mean for the dignity and productiveness of the modern emancipated Jewish spirit may only be divined. For one thing, it will provide a noble channel for young Jewish spirits who with all their intellect and ardor have found hitherto no acceptable opportunity to serve the Jewish cause and have consequently given their minds to other disciplines and devotions—to the infinite loss of Jewish life.

Though it is a great theme and a great dream—but a dream that can easily be made to come true—only a brief statement is here necessary. The first point is: It may be safely assumed that just as the university authorities have welcomed the coming of the Menorah Societies, so they will heartily welcome the Menorah enrichment of their curriculum. Of this, evidence is already available. It is but necessary to demonstrate the seriousness and sincerity of the program and our capacity to carry it out in a manner conformable to the highest university standards. For the rest, the program need wait only upon the appearance of glittering gold.

It is pertinent, however, at the present time to indicate the three ways in which curricular Menorah Education may be planted. First, by providing satisfactory pedagogical material on vital Jewish aspects (now quite neglected) of general courses in history, literature, sociology, etc. Second, by instituting whole courses in Jewish history, literature, etc. Third, by establishing Menorah Chairs wholly given to the investigation and teaching of the Jewish humanities.

Menorah Council of Education

IT needs no argument that to develop such a program, both extra-curricular and curricular, as has been presented; to supervise and stimulate and administer

Digitized by Google

the proposed Menorah Education—a competent, permanent, democratic body of educators and educational administrators is called for. Hence it is proposed to organize a Menorah Council of Education at this Conference, that shall constitute in effect, together with the Intercollegiate Menorah Association representing the students, a kind of Menorah University. Not only should such a Council have charge of Jewish educational activities in all our higher institutions of learning (except the specifically Jewish ones), but also of Menorah extension education in the community at large. It is suggested that membership in the Council should be open to all college and university instructors and administrators (non-Jewish as well as Jewish, of course) and other educators and competent persons, e. g., graduates and other public-spirited men, especially approved—all sympathizing with the Menorah ideal. The appointment of Menorah Teaching Fellows and incumbents of Menorah Chairs, the conduct of such enterprises as the suggested Menorah Summer School, would naturally be in its charge. Functioning with the Council would be the Intercollegiate Menorah Association, representing the students, and the Federation of Graduate Menorah Societies (to be formed) representing the graduates and like-minded men and women in the community. So that Menorah Education shall be in the hands of those —educators, students, graduates—who are the active agents and beneficiaries of the whole comprehensive undertaking.

Budget: Menorah Foundation

In order to promote this scheme of Menorah Education a considerable budget must be called for. The sum of $100,000 is necessary for an adequate start. And little time should be lost in the endeavor to establish a Menorah Foundation with an endowment of $1,000,000.

AN article by Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, on the subject of "The Contribution of the Jews to Social Ethics," will appear in an early issue of THE MENORAH JOURNAL.

Dr. John H. Finley, Commissioner of Education of the State of New York, and head of the Red Cross Mission to Palestine, who recently returned to the Holy Land on a second official trip, has promised THE MENORAH JOURNAL *an article on his personal observations in Palestine and his views upon its future administration and the relations of the Jews to other groups of peoples in the Holy Land.*

Digitized by Google

GENERAL LIBRARY
MAY 9 1919
UNIV. OF MICH.

THE MENORAH JOURNAL

VOLUME V
No. 2

APRIL
1919

The Territorial Solution of the Jewish Problem . . . . . ISRAEL ZANGWILL

Religious Liberty and the Peace Conference
ARTHUR K. KUHN

World-Empire and World-Brotherhood
JULIAN MORGENSTERN
The Assyrian Ideal vs. The Dream of Israel

Job as a Greek Tragedy . . . . . GILBERT MURRAY

A Mistaken Hypothesis . . . . . MAX RADIN

The Book of Job on the Stage . . . . STUART WALKER

The Future of Jewish Music . . . . JEROME H. BAYER
A Menorah Prize Essay

"The Carrier of Life" . . . . . DAVID I. MACHT
Biblical and Talmudic Conceptions of the Blood in the Light of Modern Science

PUBLISHED BY THE INTERCOLLEGIATE MENORAH ASSOCIATION
600 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK :: :: :: 35 CTS. A COPY

Digitized by Google

Best & Co.

MEN'S CLOTHES

"Made in Our Own Shops"

IT seems that the designers for Clothing factories are always intent on creating something "novel." This striving after extravagant effects may be responsible for the droll Clothes that abound. Style in Men's Suits and Overcoats is something more than a whim.

Observe the form—the lines—of Best & Co.'s Clothes for men; notice the finish. Nothing odd; nothing extreme. Simply richly, thoroughly tailored. Real custom elegance. Here are Medium weight Spring Suits and Overcoats that illustrate our Standard.

We make them for definite personalities—for men in all walks of life who appreciate the value of being well-dressed—for you—your friends and acquaintances. Ready-for-Service Clothes with the atmosphere of custom workmanship.

Prep School Boys' Clothes

Long Trouser Suits—*sizes 13 to 20 years*—tailored in our own shops in a strictly custom manner. They delight the boys—also their mothers and fathers. The price appeals to all pocketbooks.

Best & Co.

Fifth Ave. at 35th St.

Men's Shop—Fifth Floor *Est. 1879* Entrance—1 West 35th St.

You Never Pay More at Best's

Kindly mention The Menorah Journal when writing to advertisers

Digitized by Google

THE
MENORAH JOURNAL
VOLUME V APRIL, 1919 NUMBER 2

The Territorial Solution of the Jewish Problem

By Israel Zangwill
President of the Jewish Territorial Organization

(*Copyright, 1919, by* The Menorah Journal. *All rights reserved.*)

I

HUMAN life does not proceed by logic, nevertheless logic is occasionally useful. At such a crisis in the fate of Israel as the great war has brought, a clear view of the prospect is peculiarly necessary.

But clear thinking upon the Jewish question is as uncommon as upon any other human question. Even genius, rare as it is, is not quite so rare, for among all races great men appear, who impart dynamic impulses to their age. They, however, add fresh elements to its intellectual confusion, and not till time has tried their ideas can the value of their contributions be disentangled from the welter.

Such men of genius were the first apostles of Territorialism, Pinsker and Herzl. They saw vividly the evils of the Jewish situation and recorded their diagnosis in imperishable words. The Diaspora, they perceived, held two perils for the Jews—the external menace of anti-Semitism and the internal menace of de-Judaization: the former ranging from massacre and economic boycott to mere social prejudice, and not to be diminished even by patriotic blood-sacrifices, rather indeed likely to augment under the national self-concentration of war; the latter ranging from secularization or Christianization to the mere negative inability to use a common language or develop a common culture, and producing in the more emanci-

Digitized by Google

pated countries—even when the physical atoms of Jewry still cohered—a "living corpse," a body without its soul.

That these evils were aspects of the same phenomenon—the landlessness of Israel, his ubiquitous existence and persistence as a minority—was equally clear to the pioneers of Territorialism. A Jewish State, they pointed out, not with cold detachment, but with passionate resentment—whether of the Russian pogroms, or of the Dreyfus persecution—would be free from both these menaces. Within its boundaries at least there would be neither anti-Semitism nor insidious de-Judaization. And under the spell of their verbal enchantments and contagious emotion arose the vision of this new land of Israel, like the sight of domes and cupolas to the thirsting traveler in the desert.

The Diaspora Is Not So Easily Swept Away

SO far their logic was as impeccable as their observation was accurate. It was only when they put forth this new Jewish State as a remedy for the evils actually existing here and now, a remedy that would work forthwith; it was only when they pictured the Jewish State as supplanting the Diaspora, and the Diaspora as transporting and transforming itself almost overnight into the Jewish State, that their grip on reality relaxed and their logic broke down.

It was natural enough, that, having realized that the evils of the Diaspora were inherent in it and could only vanish with its destruction, Herzl should sally out like a knight-errant to destroy it. It was natural enough for his followers to believe that they were out to destroy it. Nevertheless, the realistic vocabulary of Herzl—his parade of charters, companies, and banks—served but to disguise the fundamental unreality of his solution, and the glaring fallacy which he shared with Pinsker. For the Diaspora is indestructible, except by centuries of absorption into the various national melting pots, and the heat of the solution can only be provided by "Christian love," which is rarer than radium.

Even when the Jewish State was in full swing, a great Diaspora existed, and if we had only read our own literature we should have suspected that something so long-standing could not easily be swept away. "There is a certain people," said Haman unto King Ahasuerus, "scattered abroad and dispersed among the peoples in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from those of every people; neither keep they the King's laws; therefore it profiteth not the King to suffer them. If it please the King, let it be written that they be destroyed."

But if all Israel's enemies have not succeeded in destroying the Diaspora, it may well defy even his own efforts.

Digitized by Google

II

The Mirage of a Jewish State for All the World's Jews

A STORY relates that Pobiedonostseff, when asked what would become of the Jews of Russia, replied: "One-third will emigrate, one-third will be baptized, and one-third will be massacred." Brutal as was the utterance, it was nearer to actuality than early Territorialism. If the question were now asked, What will become of the Jews of the Diaspora?, the answer—after twenty years of work upon the Jewish problem—would have to be: Ten per cent. will emigrate to the Jewish State—if one is ever formed—20 per cent. will be baptized or otherwise lost to Jewry, and 70 per cent. will remain in the Diaspora, wandering about. There is, in fact, no human means by which thirteen or fourteen million Jews, scattered through all countries, can be agglomerated in a single territory under autonomous conditions. Yet the propaganda of Pinsker and Herzl implied that this miracle was possible. They were themselves eager to live in the State that was to replace the Diaspora, they believed that the bulk of Jewry could be convinced by their reasoning and fired by their ardor, and —most naïvely of all—they believed that territories capable of receiving the new exodus existed at choice. And in the fervid Oriental imagination of their followers, outrunning even theirs, the Ghettoes of the world were transported across space to the chosen land as by some magic carpet of the Arabian Nights. To the Russian masses, who hung up the images of Herzl and Nordau in their cottages and signed petitions or greetings by the hundred thousand, the deliverers of Israel had appeared and the end of the *Goluth* (the exile) was at hand. Nor were the educated classes less credulous. Emigration, immigration, colonization, agriculture, economics, history, folk-psychology, all were left unstudied, and the Jews never showed themselves so completely *Luftmenschen* as when they resolved to be at last terrestrial and territorial.

And the opponents of Territorialism were as naïve as its champions. Instead of demonstrating that the re-gathering of Israel was impracticable, they vociferated that it was undesirable. Instead of admitting that it was too good to hope for, they denounced it as reactionary and dangerous. In a panic as fantastic as the mirages of the converted, they saw the Jewish State springing up like Jonah's gourd, and themselves forcibly deported to it. And to-day, still untaught by experience, they raise the same hue and cry over the proposed Palestine settlement under British auspices, as though any Jewish State capable of accommodating the Diaspora could possibly arise under the conditions imposed, or within the territory prescribed.

Digitized by Google

III.

The Diaspora Cannot Be Transmuted into a Jewish State

THE unhappy fact is that Territorialism, while it can point out to the Diaspora that what is the matter with it is precisely that it *is* a Diaspora, can do little or nothing to mend or end it. The fathers of Territorialism drew a picture of the Jewish State, and putting it beside a photograph of the Diaspora cried, like Hamlet: "Look here upon this picture and on this." And assuredly the counterfeit presentment of Hamlet's father and of his uncle exhibited no greater contrast—the one "wholesome," the other "like a mildew'd ear." But as little as Hamlet's wretched uncle could be transformed into his splendid sire, so little can the Diaspora be transmuted into the Jewish State. It is in a sense almost mockery of the Jewish misery to hold up before it such a picture of success and happiness. The Jewish State is something in the future—something to be generated in the womb of time: the Diaspora is actually here. The rise of the State would indeed affect the Diaspora, but it is as much calculated to fortify and prolong its existence as to curtail it. True, there are Jews who urge that with the future of Jewry assured in a Jewish State, with an ark and pairs provided against the Deluge, the Diaspora could afford to disappear. Like a parent who had ensured his posterity's fortunes, it would cry "*Nunc dimittis.*" But would it? Would not the effect be the contrary? Has not the very effort to create the State reanimated the Diaspora? Would not the young creation radiate back some of its vitality to the parent?

Were the Jewish State founded on a great scale, and it did become so prosperous as to draw to itself all that was vital in Jewry, there might be some hope of the Diaspora's decay. But the chances of so heroic a solution dwindle daily, and the euthanasia of the Diaspora could be sought more hopefully from complete indifference to Jewish affairs than from the vivifying activity of State-building. The fundamental fallacy of Pinsker and Herzl lay, however, not in the notion that the rise of the State would indirectly bring about the subsidence of the Diaspora, but in the assumption that the Diaspora could be directly deported to the State.

They were perhaps misled by the success of Moses in leading the Jews out of Egypt. But, apart from the factor of Moses having Israel's God behind him and a pillar of fire before, his task was comparatively simple. He had his people compactly concentrated—he had not to collect them from the four corners of the earth, divided and diversified by its languages, customs, and politics, and not even united by that community of unbearable suffering which is the only goad to revolutionary change known to history. What Moses had to end was not a Diaspora, but a slavery. Territorialism, in short, should never have been put forward as a cure for

Digitized by Google

the Diaspora, but as a call to new creation. It is not the administering of a nostrum to a diseased and decrepit ancient, but the begetting of a fresh young life. It summons us to cease wringing our hands over the irreparable or wailing over ruined walls, but out of our yet unexhausted seed to create a new Jewish stock in a self-governing Jewish territory.

IV

A Jewish State Will Not "Cure" the Diaspora

LEAVING the problem or malady of the *Goluth* as humanly incurable or insoluble, a sane Territorialism aspires only to create a new Judæa. It cannot supplant the Diaspora, it can only supplement it. But the new Judæa would be quick with the fires of youth; to its radiant vitality even the final dropping asleep of the poor weary old Diaspora could bring no menace; into the unknown world of the future it would carry forward that same warm humanity and sane idealism with which ancient Judæa enriched antiquity. In this one focus of Jewish life the abnormal conditions prevalent everywhere else would be replaced by the normal. In this one *milieu* the Jewish child would be born as naturally Jewish as the Bristol child is born English, the Bordeaux child French, or the Canton child Chinese. But—let us repeat—there is no alchemy by which the Diaspora itself can be transmuted into a self-governing Israel, and we shall make no progress with the Jewish problem till we realize that Territorialism is as likely to prop up the Diaspora as to undermine it, and that the self-governing territory, though its pioneer elements and a continuous stream of subsequent immigration will come from the Diaspora, cannot possibly receive the populations of the Ghettoes, Jewries, and *Judengassen*, nay, that its first legislation must actually be to exclude an indiscriminate rush, and that its stoutest foundations will be laid in the sons born of its own soil. Thus the Diaspora would still be left to wrestle with its own problems. Whatever help the Jewish State could bring it, would be indirect, slow, and uncertain; even the fear that the State would bring harm rather than help, though it is an unmanly fear, is not altogether groundless in so illogical a world. But, however the State and the Diaspora might act and react upon each other, they would grow more and more unlike each other. As the Canadian-Englishman differs from the slum-born Briton, so would the Judæan Jew tend to differ from the Ghetto-Jew. The *genius soli* of the Jewish State could not be exported like Palestine earth or bottles of Jordan water, nor would its solutions of Jewish questions suffice for more than local consumption. Being able to keep its day of rest on the Saturday, it would have, for example, no Sabbath problem. But how would this help the unhappy artisan of America, impaled on the dilemma of Sabbath desecration or starvation?

Digitized by Google

V

"The Past Is Our Cradle, Not Our Prison"

THESE considerations do not cease to apply if the Palestine form of Territorialism is adopted. The choice of old Judæa as the terrain of the new Judæa could not alter the brute facts. But we must carefully distinguish between Zionism—which is all things to all men—and Territorialism, which is a concept definite and unchanging. The object of Zionism was, for example, defined by Mr. Sokolow at the last Zionist Congress as to bring Zion to the Diaspora: a complete reversal of the original concept. But Territorialism is not even the Basle program with the abstract form, Itoland, substituted for the concrete Palestine, nor if it accepted Palestine as the sphere of its operations would the breach be wholly healed. For the rift that suddenly opened out between the two parties at the so-called Uganda Conference was not a brand-new chasm made by the earthquake of the British offer; it was the exposure of an abyss which had yawned between them from the first and which had only been concealed by the common territorial objective. Zionism takes its vision and ideal from the past; Territorialism places them in the future. The one looks back, the other forward. Zionism is not safe even from the restoration of animal sacrifices. Territorialism moves along the lines of "creative evolution." The past is our cradle, not our prison, and there is danger as well as appeal in its glamour. The past is for inspiration, not imitation, for continuation, not repetition. Probably no nation in the world now lives in its original habitat, and had other peoples looked backward as obstinately and sluggishly as our own, few of the original masters of the world would still be in possession of territories. As in every period great masses of Jews have been able to settle and maintain themselves in almost every country on earth, so with a little more foresight, had they not been paralyzed by a tradition of passive expectation, they would long ago have built up at least one self-governing center, whether in Palestine or elsewhere. Even as it is, they have come nigh to an autonomous life in certain periods and regions. The very Pale of Russia produced a sort of sub-national life. A single city like Salonika, where the Jewish Sabbath came to prevail of itself, might have been made the nucleus of a commonwealth like Venice, had not all such ideas been inhibited by the superstition of a Heaven-ordained *Goluth*, to be replaced in God's good time by a replica of ancient Judæa, complete from the Temple with its shambles to the last pomegranate tassel on the lower hem of the High Priest's robe; a vision which has no more substantiality than the popular poetic dream of restoring the primitive Golden Age, and which could at best have the value of a theatrical reproduction or a museum exhibit.

Digitized by Google

In the admirable little anthology which the Chief Rabbi of England has prepared for Jewish sailors and soldiers there is cited Longfellow's sympathetic poem on "The Jewish Cemetery at Newport," expounding how the "Ishmaels and Hagars of mankind" who lie buried there, had lived by the great traditions of their people's past and seen them all reflected in the coming time. They spelt the world backward—says the poet—like a Hebrew book:

"Till life became a Legend of the Dead."

The Chief Rabbi prudently cuts the poem short here. He does not give "the conclusion of the whole matter":

"But ah! what once has been shall be no more.
The groaning earth in travail and in pain
Brings forth its races, but does not restore,
And the dead nations never rise again."

If Longfellow erred in supposing the Jewish nation irretrievably dead, he was profoundly right in teaching that Time never retraces its steps. Even if Judæa is re-established in Palestine, it can never be the old Judæa over again, any more than Hebrew, if it becomes again the national language, can be restricted to the Biblical vocabulary. Aeroplanes must now fly through Hebrew literature as well as archangels.

The Danger of Playing with the Past

THERE is no lack of Zionists who perfectly understand this and whose outlook is as modern as the most progressive Territorialist could desire, but have they pondered sufficiently the profound warning of Jesus that you cannot put new wine into old bottles? Will they not, in fact, be exploited by Jewish clericalism, by that ossified orthodoxy which would bind Israel forever to traditional theology and legendary legislation, and which the vicinity of Sinai will appear to vindicate afresh?

In a story by Mr. H. G. Wells a man hatches out the egg of an Æpyornis, the largest of extinct birds. For centuries the egg has lain hidden and preserved in the mud of Madagascar, but he brings the latent bird to life and feeds it and brings it up. At first all is charm and idyll, but in a few years the creature, grown colossal and terrible, kicks and pummels its foster-father as with the foot of a cart-horse and a beak like a sledge-hammer. It is the fate that awaits all who play with the past and revive the intellectually extinct.

It is a thousand pities that the intellectual issues involved in the fate of the Jewish race were not thought out and fought out before any attempt was made to unify Israel by a cut-and-dried scheme. A Pan-Jewish Congress should have preceded the Zionist Congress. Principles and beliefs are the realities behind the banding together of men for specific purposes,

Digitized by Google

and a race-bond is no sufficient nexus when there are such grave differences of outlook and such spiritual issues interfused. As British party politics have been suspended in war, so Jewish differences were laid aside by the Zionists for the common task of rebuilding Zion. But Zion is not a mere place; to rebuild it is not like rebuilding Belgium or Serbia, and the evasion of all root questions in the interests of a sham unity will one day have to be paid for, and with heavy interest. Herzl had a glimpse of this truth when he declared that the return to Judaism must precede the return to Zion, but he did not follow up his somewhat belated discovery. His original attempt to treat the Jew as definable by physiology was a grave historic error. Not even Ezra, who reduced the conception of Israel to its lowest race-terms, treated the Jew as a mere ethnic type, for his purgation of the race was professedly in the interests of its religion.

VI

Is Judaism "Only a Religion"?

BUT if some extremists for race and soil have sought to dispense with a religious bond, others would have it overshadow everything else, and Territorialism, besides being impeded by Zionism with its cry of "Only in Palestine," has also to meet the onset of anti-Zionism with its cry of "Only a religion."

The more rabid anti-Zionists go so far as to forget or ignore that even if Judaism has now become synonymous with a mere religion, it at least began as the religion of a peculiar people. They speak as if it were like one of the other religions, which sprang into life with a universal appeal and message to every race and color. Judaism did, indeed, at a secondary stage of its existence, enter upon a period of propagandism, but unfortunately, for various historical reasons, its career as a world-religion was checked, and what might have been a great river became a back-water again. It is true that proselytes have never ceased to be admitted more or less grudgingly, but even when they were sought and welcomed, they were absorbed, not into a universal doctrine, but into a national system, saturated with historic traditions and celebrations. So that, even admitting that Judaism, not the Jewish race, has been the essential thought of Israel, we do not escape the conception of a national organism. And since this organism can lead only a cramped, crippled, mutilated, and disjointed life in the Diaspora, the fact that it is but the incorporation of a religion does not obviate the need of a geographical basis for it. Those who plead that it is "only a religion," like Christianity or Islam, must first make it so. They must denude it of its national vesture, strip it of its peculiar chronology and historical celebrations, and preach it *urbi et orbi;* only thus will vanish even the religious necessity for Territorialism.

Digitized by Google

VII

The Theory of a "Jewish Mission"

WITH this contention that Judaism is "only a religion" is connected the idea of a world-mission, and that this "Mission of Israel" is better served by dispersion than by concentration. While the majority of the arguments against Territorialism spring from anemia or ignoble fear, and are beneath contempt and below discussion, this setting up of a rival constructive policy instead of the eternal negative, this ideal of Israel as "the servant of mankind" proclaimed in the noble prophecies of Isaiah, cannot but evoke a glow of sympathy from every true Jew.

But if the ideal of the Jewish mission, rooted though it is in Jewish thought and tradition, really demands the dispersion of Israel, we should be driven to the paradox that if there were no Diaspora it would be necessary to create one, and that if we were still in Palestine it would be our duty to scatter from it. Missions do undoubtedly suggest migrations. Missionaries do usually go out in search of the unregenerate. Did not Jesus describe the Pharisees as compassing sea and land to make a single proselyte? How, then, can we deny that it is an advantage for Israel to be everywhere on the spot? For assuredly he is everywhere surrounded by races of inferior theology, not to say inferior civilization; races that, despite a veneer of apparent superiority to him, have never yet achieved his spiritual values, nor the idea of peace to all mankind expressed in his everyday greeting.

Moreover, did Israel utilize his ubiquity to preach his ideal of human brotherhood and to stand out staunchly for his mission, thus linking up the nations, the evils due to the absence of a territory would cease to count. The glow of apostolic faith and ardor would preserve the Jewish spirit in more than its pristine vitality, while anti-Semitism would be welcomed as at once the price of prophesying and the tribute which the lower pays to the higher. The nation of martyrs and pioneers would then wear persecution as a crown and welcome death as a privilege. The Diaspora would either be wiped out—a glorious ending—or it would survive in prophetic splendor. And should the Great War—despite a material League of Nations—result in no spiritual improvement in the present barbarous system of international relationship, this *rôle* would clearly await us.

Unfortunately I have not detected in any of the preachers of the Jewish Mission the faintest attempt to convert their concept into a working reality. By a mission they seem to mean a passive expectation of a providential millennium. There may be occasions when "they also serve who only stand and wait"; but that this is the sole variety of service open to a great historic people, and that it will suffice for the next two thousand

Digitized by Google

years as it sufficed for the last, is a superstition more contemptible than the lowest gospel of race-Zionism.

As Territorialism is *Realpolitik*—a real activity for a real political and spiritual situation—it can take no account of solutions so purely academic. Otherwise it would gladly retire in favor of the loftier and the grander ideal of a world-mission. It solaces itself, however, with the reflection that even from a Territorial center it would not be impossible to pursue the Jewish Mission. For some missions are achieved by staying at home. The Athenians abode in Athens and filled the world with thought and beauty. And so, too, the establishment of a model State, a commonwealth of social justice and spiritual dignity—if the Jews could but achieve it—would radiate inspiring impulses to all humanity.

It may perhaps be urged by the passive proclaimers of the mission that the production of model Jewish communities everywhere without any direct preachment to the heathen would be still more educative. There would be no answer to this argument did the Jewish communities represent, like the Quaker communities, a distinctive point of view. This, however, is precisely what is wanting, and the Jews, instead of standing for their own ideals, are the most fervent assimilators of the conventions of the majority and the moment. Their aim, conscious or unconscious, is not apostleship, but survival.

VIII

The Statesmanlike Formula of the ITO

PIERCING through all the confusion, prejudice, and cowardice of modern Jewry, the formula struck out by the ITO (the Jewish Territorial Organization) at its foundation came like a ray of sunlight. It was the first clear and statesmanlike contribution to the political solution of the Jewish question, and will be increasingly recognized as the only possible program, even for Zionism itself, once that movement comes to grips with reality. Our formula, like Aaron's rod, must swallow all the others.

"*To acquire a territory upon an autonomous basis for those Jews who cannot or will not remain in the lands in which they live at present.*" It is not till this formula is analyzed that the complexity which underlies its seeming simplicity can be realized. There are three separate strands of thought and purpose. In the first place the substitution of the concrete "Jews who cannot or will not remain" in the Diaspora for that disputable political concept, "the Jewish people," cuts away sharply the greatest practical difficulty in the way of the scheme—the fear, real or imaginary, that the Jews who can and will remain in the Diaspora will be politically compromised, and their present status endangered. The autonomous

Digitized by Google

basis, declared to be a *sine quâ non*, will appertain not to Jewry at large, but simply to those who immigrate into the new territory, and who have surely as much right to form a new home and a new nationality for themselves and under their own institutions as had the Mormons, the Pilgrim Fathers, the French emigrants who founded Quebec, or the British sects who, within living memory, built up New Zealand.

In the second place, this limitation of the scheme to the emigrants from the Diaspora places it on a sound psychological basis. A problem exists only for those who feel it. Those Jews who will and can remain in the Diaspora prove, *ipso facto*, that for them the situation is not intolerable. And, thirdly, by building our State out of the best among our emigrants, we help to solve also the Jewish emigration problem, the famous *Wohin*. Like that village chest which, according to Oliver Goldsmith, was contrived

"A double debt to pay,
A bed by night, a chest of drawers by day,"

this new Jewish State is to be at once a land of self-government and a land of refuge. And it would find its first material, not in Jews solicited to emigrate, but in Jews already emigrating. At one stroke we provide a practical necessity and the luxury of an ideal. That Jewish labor-force, which, with the force of Jewish brotherhood, now goes unutilized by us, would be concentrated on the chosen soil like a priceless irrigation current. And whereas with the existing centers of immigration the advent of every additional Jew is an additional incentive to anti-Semitism, in Itoland every accession to the population, whether from within or without, would be a strengthening of the Jew and Judaism.

IX

Zion Is Not the Only Possible Homeland

IT is not to be denied that the difficulties of such an enterprise are colossal. But, at any rate, there is no truth in the parrot-cry that such a State can be founded "only in Zion" or that our people will go nowhere else. Such an assertion is not merely ideological, it is—in face of the spectacle of the wandering Jew wandering everywhere—positively brazen. The ITO has even tested the point by opening out a new immigration area *viâ* Galveston. Within a few years ten thousand souls were more or less happily settled in a territory they had never heard of. The bait here was bread. Could we have added also the Jewish folk-life and the Jewish Sabbath, we should have had a rush like that of Christendom to the goldfields.

Indeed, as already pointed out, the danger is we should have too many applicants rather than too few, and these, even when not feckless and

Digitized by Google

sickly, suited but rarely for agricultural pioneering. The further danger of being swamped by "alien" immigrants, though not to be overlooked, is less grave. A territory, which had lain dormant so long and would contain no obvious opportunities of easy riches, would not suddenly seem inviting to the general immigrant, particularly if Hebrew or Yiddish were the prevailing idiom. Our popularity is not so great that people who could have the benefit of our room would rush for our company. Moreover, the tragic thinning-out of man-power by the war would co-operate with the great call for reconstructive work in every country to reduce the streams of general emigration. And this same cause might make Governments with sparsely-settled territories more anxious than before for immigration and more amenable to a Territorial deal. For, outside of negotiation, there is no means of obtaining a Territory. The sword which Moses and Joshua wielded cannot be ours. There is no way for a Diaspora to organize an army. At most it can contribute Jewish regiments to some belligerent Power, and thus divide itself still more hopelessly. But the negotiation for a Jewish territory would demand infinite tact and patience and the goodwill of all Israel. For the land would have to be one desirable for other white races—not a derelict tropical desert like the Northern Territory of Australia, once suggested to the Ito by the Premier, Mr. Deakin. And to be commensurate with the need the territory must, besides being fertile and healthy, be large enough to sustain a real Jewish commonwealth. A toy republic, like San Marino or Andorra, would be no compensation for all the sweat and travail—still less a territory that was not even autonomous. The Jewish soul can find more profitable employment for its energies than to build a doll's house upon sand. We have already seen that the Jewish Diaspora cannot be destroyed even if the Jewish State could be created, but if the State cannot even be created, then it were folly to persist in a sham.

In so late an age of history, when every "place in the sun" has its ferocious claimants, and earth-hunger has passed from an appetite into a greed, the prospects of discovering and acquiring such a territory are not rosy. Nevertheless, the Ito has put forward more than one proposition which held distinct possibilities, and had Zionism been reasonable instead of fanatical, Territorial instead of nebulous, the foundations of a Jewish State might already have been laid. Cyrenaica, indeed, to which we sent a scientific expedition, disappointed our expectations; and the negotiations for Angola, on which another expedition reported more promisingly just before the war, were handicapped by the fiscal narrowness of Portuguese colonial policy. But the very existence of these hitherto unknown possibilities made it probable that other opportunities had been equally overlooked.

Digitized by Google

X.

Lost Opportunities

A CARTOON in a Jewish comic paper, published in New York, once represented the writer in his capacity of President of the ITO as a bachelor in quest of a bride. Four maidens stood awaiting his lordly choice—three fair enough, but one surpassingly beautiful. This lovely creature was labeled "Zion." The others were marked "Uganda," "Angola," "Cyrenaica." Yet, with a curious want of appreciation, the suitor was turning his back upon the most adorable of them all.

The cartoonist overlooked that "Zion" was not in the marriage market. She was, in fact, already disposed of; a member of the Turk's harem, and very jealously guarded. "Uganda"—by which, of course, was meant British East Africa—was at least virginal. At the time Mr. Joseph Chamberlain made his celebrated offer of one of its plateaus to Dr. Herzl, the future of the country was embryonic. The white population settled in its vast area could not have filled a village church. And when the ITO won Mr. Chamberlain's assent to the project of converting the entire territory into a British Judæa, with a Jewish Governor, a country to be, when developed, an equal member of the great family of nations which constitute the British Empire, a prospect was opened out of a really great Jewish future. But the ITO's elaborate memorandum on the subject remains in the archives of the British Colonial Office.

A further possibility investigated by the ITO was Canada, where a population smaller than that of London occupies an area nearly as large as Europe. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, then at the height of his power, said to the writer in 1907: "You are ten years too late. Ten years ago we were begging for immigrants and would gladly have given you a tract under local autonomy to be developed into one of the States of a federal Canada. Now we have all the immigration we need and will give land only to the individual."

"Ten years ago!" But that had been just the date of the first Basle Congress. Had Jewry really come together to take counsel, had it opened its eyes and looked round the world instead of shutting them and swallowing the formula stuffed into its mouth by the pre-existing Chovevé Zionists (Small Colonization Zionites), the first thing it would have perceived would have been Canada and the great healthy, fruitful spaces thereof, and it would have made instant application to the Canadian Government.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier added that if we chose to send out our men—each to make individual application for his hundred and sixty acres—and if we so planned their holdings as to produce a Jewish commonwealth, the Canadian Government would not try to thwart a scheme executed under its constitution.

Digitized by Google

But to carry out such a scheme without the glamour and protection of public policy, without a charter and a flag, and in face of the Zionist clamor and the anti-Zionist outcry, did not seem feasible. Nor did the numerous perspectives tentatively explored by the Ito in Australia, Mexico, and South America seem more calculated to produce the necessary unity.

Even when the Ito put forward Mesopotamia—the primitive Jewish land, the cradle of the race and the conservatory of its purity, as well as the subsequent focus of Judaism for a thousand years, the seat of its most famous academies and the birthplace of the Babylonian Talmud—there was no sign of Zionist sympathy, and this though Mesopotamia came within the ambit of the official program of Zionism, and offered a far greater possibility than Palestine of a territory on an adequate scale. That the Ito's project was not chimerical has been proved by the irrigation work executed on its very lines both by Sir William Willcocks for the Sultan and by the British troops for their own purposes.

The fact was that the Zionists could not rise, and have not yet risen, to the conception of Territorialism. They have been at most mere Palestinians, hovering like ghosts over the grave of their past, and unable to make an act of fresh faith. This was intelligible enough in the orthodox, but that advanced Jewish thinkers—and the majority of the Zionist delegates had thrown over the Mosaic code—should babble equally about the irreplaceability of Palestine is a proof of the paralysis to which centuries of oppression and superstition can reduce a people.

XI

The Expectations Aroused by Great Britain

IMMENSE as are the difficulties in the way of Territorialism, they cannot be said to be absolutely insuperable even now; while in the past, when new continents lay practically unpopulated, a Jewish State could have been carved out with comparative facility. The history of Israel is a story of lost opportunities. If only the exiles from Spain had followed in the wake of Columbus! Even in 1825, when Major Noah conceived his project of a regathering of Israel within sound of Niagara Falls, the matter of his scheme was far less fantastic than the manner, and had the European Ghettoes to which he addressed his appeal been sufficiently prepared by propaganda, the great city of Buffalo would by now have been Jewish, with a Jewish majority in New York State. When after the pogroms of the 'eighties the great stream of Jewish emigration to America began, one of the few statesmanlike Jews, Judge Sulzberger, suggested that, instead of receiving it into the cities, it should be diverted to a

Digitized by Google

sparsely-populated territory, which would then, automatically under the Constitution, evolve into a Jewish State. But the suggestion was not followed, and instead of adding a new member to the United States, practically a new Jewish Pale was built up, and a new series of Ghetto slums.

Perhaps it is even now not too late to pour a stream of Jewish migration upon a thinly occupied territory in America—North or South—or Australia. There may even be, under the new Russian *régime*, ample territory in the vast and sparsely-settled stretches of Siberia for Jews to build up, under amicable auspices, a State of their own.

But none of these ideas can hope for a hearing at present, for by one of those unexpected happenings, which are the only certainties in history, Zionism has received from Great Britain, with the support of other Great Powers, the promise that "a Jewish national home" shall be established in Palestine, and while the possibility of this project is on trial the Ito naturally lays aside any rival activities, hoping even that its ends may be attainable within the same territory. Unhappily, the prospect of turning Palestine into "a territory upon an autonomous basis for those Jews who cannot or will not remain in the lands in which they live at present" is not altogether hopeful. The facts of geography and history, which Zionists have always refused to look in the face, cannot be abolished by State proclamations, and now that the dream bids fair to take on reality, the happiness produced by the British promise must inevitably be shadowed by these disagreeable obstacles and drawbacks.

As a territory Palestine cannot be said to be capacious, and even of its exiguous area the Syrian Christians claim (for France) a goodly northern slice. Still, it is not too small to produce that richness and variety of life which go to make a nation, and now that we are aware that the accommodation of the Diaspora is no part of a sane Territorialism, we need not twit Zionism with the false hopes it once raised among the suffering masses of the Pale. We need only consider whether "a Jewish national home" can be established within this area, in accordance with the promise of Great Britain.

Can Palestine Become Either "Jewish" or "National" or a "Home"?

UNFORTUNATELY, that very promise is hedged with a condition which makes it practically a contradiction in terms, for "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."

With her delicate relation to the Arab and her position as a Mohammedan Power, Great Britain could not easily act otherwise, nor could Jews demand any restriction of native rights so long as the tribes remain in Palestine. But as it happens that these tribes outnumber the Jews by more than six to one, it is not easy to see how (short of amicably buying out the

Digitized by Google

more nomadic and loosely-rooted, and resettling them in the vast new Arab kingdom, which is to be set up simultaneously) Palestine can become either Jewish or national or a home. Under any system of constitutional Government there would arise an Arab national autonomy, not a Jewish. "The balance of power in a State," writes Lord Morley, "exists with the class that holds the balance of the land." And so far the Jews hold only 2 per cent. of it. Nor can the atmosphere of Palestine—so largely saturated with Christian and Mohammedan emanations, to which incessant pilgrimages will now more than ever contribute—become as Jewish as a Ghetto of the Diaspora or a Territorial State on virgin soil. To adopt the image of our Yiddish cartoonist, Zion is a bride who after her divorce from Israel has been twice married to gentiles—once to a Christian and once to a Mohammedan—and when Israel takes her back he will find his household encumbered with the litter of the two intervening *ménages*. Such considerations, however, are still invisible to the stock Zionist on whose self-spun structures realities impinge in vain, and whose Zion is as much a city of dream as that builded on celestial foundations by the popular imagination yearning for the Messiah. As Don Quixote could see great armies with banners where Sancho Panza could see only flocks of sheep, so our dreamers of the Ghetto see a full national life where a sober observer can see only a few farm colonies in an overwhelmingly alien environment. And yet when theology gives place to politics, when Zionism, abandoning the dream of a heaven-wrought millennium, proclaims the manlier program of self-achieved redemption, its first duty surely is to face political facts.

It is true that the Jews will be an intensive minority in control of the economic development of the country and that Jewish immigrants will have the happy sense of coming home. But, so far as the historic Palestine west of the Jordan is concerned, unless heroic measures are taken, which are utterly unlikely—for the Zionist leaders are resolved on the less difficult policy of friendly co-operation with the Arab—nothing approaching a Jewish commonwealth can possibly grow up there, and the Zionist settlers will be lucky if, under the ægis of Britain, they can change into friendship the hitherto menacing hostility of the native majority.

It is only in the comparatively unpopulated regions to the east of the Jordan that a sort of Hebrew Montenegro is not unattainable, though as a province without independence and as part of a miniature Austria. Under the success of Zionism not only will Israel be divided into Diaspora Jews and Palestine Jews, but Palestine Jews will themselves be divided into locally autonomous Jews, and Jews hopelessly mixed up with other races. Thus, instead of normalizing Israel's life, Zionism will make it still more abnormal. A motherland that holds only a tithe of its sons, and even those largely interblent with other peoples, will not cease to be an anomaly.

Digitized by Google

The Phantasm of a "Spiritual Center" in Zion

BUT Zionism has, of course, long given up pretending to a Territorial solution. With its shrewd policy of cutting its coat according to its cloth and changing its aim into whatever it can get, it now aspires only to a spiritual center. This is the conception of Ahad Ha-'am, and it may be magnificent. But it is not Zionism. It is not the gospel of redemption preached at Basle.

It is not even intelligible. A spiritual center, round which the Jews of the Diaspora are to group as a political nationality, which nationality is to be, however, in no contradiction with their local nationality as Englishmen, Frenchman, or Germans—here is a conception which goes dangerously near nonsense and nonsensically near danger. Only if the whole world after the war is organized internationally will such a political brotherhood of Israel become feasible. But otherwise such a bond is as superfluous as it is impracticable. For the disruption of the Diaspora will have been aggravated by the war. The partition of Russia and Austria has broken up even the solidarity of the Pale, while the threatened split of the world into a German-Russian sphere and a League of other Nations would import a still more fatal scission.

So long, however, as the Diaspora believes in Judaism, it has no need of a spiritual center. The Torah is its spiritual center. But if it has lost this center, then to replace the religion which has kept the Diaspora alive nearly two thousand years, and which is a solid reality coming home to the Jew at every hour of the day, by an absentee nationalism so tenuous that another and a nearer nationalism occupy his heart simultaneously and claim even the sacrifice of his blood, this is a conception which could occur only to visionaries ignorant of life, or bankrupt politicians clutching at any expedient to save their faces. A "spiritual center" in Zion may suffice to hold within its ghostly radius the first generation of absentee Zionists minus Judaism; such a phantasm without either political or religious substance will not avail to keep their children Jewish. The young generation will crave less windy nourishment and a more solid ground for separation from the general life. No minority in history has ever sustained itself in the bosom of a majority unless fortified by a burning faith.

XII

Palestine Cannot Become a "Melting Pot"

ASSUMING, however, that the Zionists will be sensible enough to adopt the Ito formula, we must confess that their prospects, poor as they are, are on the surface greater than those of Moses. For Palestine was far more densely populated in the days of the Exodus from Egypt than

Digitized by Google

it is now, and although Joshua came as a victorious invader, yet victories do not always assure the dominancy of the invaders. Autochthones cannot always be all annihilated or all expelled, and they often absorb their conquerors, as the Saxons in Britain absorbed the Normans. "I will not drive them out from before thee in one year," God explains to Moses, "lest the land become desolate and the beasts of the field multiply against thee. By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the land." What an admission that the conquest and occupation of Canaan proceeded not by miracle, but by natural law! The Deity's views are obviously not orthodox. How easily the beasts could have been kept down by Providence, and the pace of Israel's increase and settlement precipitated! As a matter of fact, the tribes in possession remained largely on the soil, profiting by this breathing space to intermarry "little by little" with their invaders, and the nation that grew up in Palestine was a blend of all its races on a Hebrew basis. The Biblical Palestine, like all other countries, was a melting-pot.

But such a development—and the situation is not without its irony—is unlikely in the Palestine of to-day. For, partly on account of the inevitably exaggerated race-consciousness of the pioneer Jews, but even more because of the great Diaspora behind them, they will be kept from intermarrying with the tribes in possession. They will feel members of Jewry rather than citizens of Palestine. It is the Diaspora that will keep Palestine Jewish, rather than Palestine the Diaspora. Just so the isolation of Ulster is nourished by the kindred Protestantism of Great Britain, and the amalgamation of Austria has been impeded by the existence beyond its frontiers of powerful aggregations of its constituent races. The first Hebrew comers to Palestine did not leave behind them in Egypt a great Hebrew settlement to chain them to the past and restrain them from fusing with the new peoples they were to meet. Nay, at the very beginning of their adventure they took up a "mixed multitude" of the old peoples with them. But the Jews who emigrate to Palestine to-day will have a far more tribal mentality, and so no neo-Jewish race, no synthesis of the Semitic tribes of Palestine, is likely to be again evolved to people and possess Palestine. Hence the difficulty arising from the native tribes is greater than in ancient Palestine; for they can neither be expelled nor absorbed. Palestine must thus become a mongrel State, one section of which will contain a small self-governing Jewry, while other sections will exhibit Jews intermingled in varying proportions with other races. Around this hybrid center—according to Zionist doctrine—a long series of overruled or oppressed Jewries will eternally gravitate, the *Goluth* being thus perpetuated by the very movement which started out to abolish it.

It has been suspected that, though Israel has been preserved in the

Digitized by Google

Goluth by his religion, his religion is in reality only the mask of his invincible will to live. That the race-instinct has invented and is exploiting Zionism is a still more plausible hypothesis. With the diminution of faith and the relaxation of ritual a new protective device was necessary. Hence the prospect that Zionism, like Balaam, will bless what it came to curse, and keep alive what it came to destroy, is not so paradoxical as it seems.

The True Task for Zionism

NEVERTHELESS, though the Diaspora survive, a more national kind of Jewish life may well arise east of the Jordan, and even west of it Hebrew is already becoming again a living speech. Such a resurrection—however partial—would be a valuable vindication of the power of a people to outlive its persecutors, and would add a unique and romantic chapter to history. But "the Mission of Israel" would not be furthered unless a civilization higher than the normal was developed in that more compact section where Hebrew idealism would have comparatively free play. Here, then, is the true task for Zionism, and a further reason why the largest possible measure of autonomy and concentration is essential.

Since, however, the Diaspora cannot but survive the completest possible triumph of Zionism—since, indeed, according to the latest gospel, its survival will be part of the triumph of Zionism—its religious problems, like its political problems, will still remain clamoring for solution. Not even by seeking refuge in Zion can Judaism escape that religious reconstruction which modern thought has long been imperatively demanding, and which the breakdown of the old order under stress of war has made inevitable for all religions alike. Indeed, a Zionism that frankly abandoned the ideal of a tribal center for the Diaspora, and set up on Mount Zion a center of teaching for the whole human race, would be both freer from practical difficulties and nearer to the essence of Judaism and Jewish history.

Israel Zangwill

Digitized by Google

Religious Liberty and the Peace Conference

By Arthur K. Kuhn

Secretary and Legal Adviser to the Conference Committee of the League to Enforce Peace

EVERY liberal constitution has its Bill of Rights. The Covenant of the League of Nations is a constitution which if adopted and ratified will undoubtedly be one of the most important documents ever elaborated. Where is its Bill of Rights? There is indeed an admirable clause by which the nations agree that they "will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women and children" and to that end undertake to establish a permanent bureau of labor. No individual rights are secured by this clause nor indeed by any clause. Ordinarily such rights are under the jurisdiction of national sovereignty, but in view of the fact that the denial of such rights to individuals of a minority group is a potent cause of international unrest and instability, it is eminently proper and desirable to effectuate an international sanction.

Discrimination against racial or cultural minorities is one of the most fruitful causes of war. The whole background of the Peace Conference is made up of the desire to provide against the known causes of war wherever possible. The principle of the self-determination of peoples is nothing more than a corollary.

There must always be minorities, but whereas racial interests may to a large extent be protected by territorial adjustments, religious minorities, especially in the case of a widely dispersed people like the Jews, can be protected only by civil and political guarantees.

ARTHUR K. KUHN, born in Philadelphia, 1876; educated at Columbia (A.B., LL.B., Ph. D.) and Universities of Paris and Zurich. Member of the New York Bar, Lecturer in Private International Law in Columbia Law School, Special Lecturer at the University of Zurich in 1914. Author of "Meili's International Civil and Commercial Law" in English form, "Comparative Study of the Law of Corporations," etc. Wrote the Brief on "International Law and the Discriminations Practiced by Russia under the Treaty of 1832," adopted verbatim as the Report of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Representatives (1912), with a recommendation for the abrogation of the Treaty. Sent to the Paris Conference last year as Legal Adviser of the League to Enforce Peace, and has just returned to America.

The Disappearance of the Bill of Rights Clause

WHAT has become of the Bill of Rights in the Covenant? It *was* there, but it is there no more. In the last reading in committee, an old Article XIX read as follows:

Digitized by Google

"*The High Contracting Parties agree that they will make no law prohibiting or interfering with the free exercise of religion and they resolve that they will not permit the practice of any particular creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or with public morals, to interfere with the life, liberty, or pursuit of happiness of their people.*"

Americans might be proud of the intrinsic evidence of the American origin of this clause. It has the familiar phraseology of the Declaration of Independence. We say "might" advisedly because it disappeared at the first onslaught; one is almost inclined to quote:

"What was it ever begun for,
If 'twas so soon to be done for?"

Japan's Claim for Racial Equality

WE are informed that in the Committee of the Peace Conference having in charge the drafting of the Covenant, the representatives of Japan, Viscount Chinda and Baron Makino, objected to the insertion of the clause unless some analogous guarantee against *racial* discrimination were also adopted. We are further informed that President Wilson preferred to withdraw the clause entirely rather than run the risk of imperilling the traditional policy of the United States in regard to Asiatic immigration.

The two questions should not have been linked together, but in the face of the claim, diplomacy might have found a way to conciliate the justifiable *amour propre* of Japan, without surrendering a principle essential to a world organization founded upon justice.

At the meeting of the Interallied Associations for a League of Nations held in London in March, 1919, the writer, in collaboration with former Ambassador Straus, urged the adoption of a clause substantially to the same effect as the clause already referred to, in order that these powerful organizations might indorse the principle for adoption by the Peace Conference. Mr. Venizélos, who represented the Greek Association for a League of Nations and who is also a member of the official committee, feared that the same issues would be raised and therefore opposed its adoption, although personally in favor of the principle. It should be remarked that from conversations which the writer previously had in Paris with the Greek Premier he proved himself to be a man of the widest sympathies. Curiously enough the proposal was adopted because of the support lent by the delegate of the Chinese League of Nations Association, Mr. Cheng, who pointed out that the Asiatic question in America was economic rather more than

Digitized by Google

racial; that, if linked with the question of religious liberty, a grave injustice would undoubtedly be committed. The incident speaks for itself.

Why Religious Equality Should Have Prior Recognition

AS events have proved, the surrender of ground has resulted only in postponing the claim of the Japanese, which has recently again been put forth, this time as an independent proposition and not as a counterclaim. The clause for the equality of religions, on the other hand, has not been as energetically championed, for the obvious reason that it does not directly affect national interests. Yet the racial clause presents diplomatic difficulties immeasurably greater because of the colossal contrasts still existing between the races of the world. No matter how sympathetically we may view the Japanese claim in the light of their own well-recognized qualifications, it is another matter to adopt a generalization of racial equality at this period of the world's development. On the other hand, religion has now happily been abandoned as a test of civil and political rights in all but a very small portion of the civilized world, and the time is ripe for generalization. This fact was well brought out at the joint meeting of the Allied League of Nations Associations by Mr. J. H. Thomas, one of England's most influential Labor members of Parliament, who stated that it was most impolitic to lose the opportunity of getting out of the way *one* of the most fruitful causes of international unrest, simply because it seemed to be more difficult to do the same with another one.

It has been said by a member of the American Jewish Committee in Paris that it is not enough to guarantee the rights of all individuals regardless of religion, because of the actual separation into racial and cultural groups under the existing state of society in eastern Europe. But the clause is not intended to protect minority groups in eastern Europe alone, but throughout the world, and for all time. Moreover, we should sharply distinguish between the insertion of such a clause in an ordinary treaty and its incorporation in a great constitutive charter like the Covenant. Doubtless the history of the Berlin Treaty of 1878 would be repeated if Jewish liberties were to rest solely upon the conditions subject to which the new states of Europe are to be created. This treaty, by which Roumania was admitted into the family of nations, contained the broadest guarantees of religious equality; but Roumania persistently violated them with impunity because the Powers were too jealous or fearful of one another to raise an issue. If the same or equivalent guarantees were inserted in the Covenant of the League of Nations as proposed, an entirely new situation would ensue. While no language can be devised

Digitized by Google

which may be relied on absolutely, the recognition of the principle in an international instrument like the Covenant will array against a violator, such as Roumania has been in the past, the moral and the judicial strength of the League.

An Opportunity for the American Delegates

IT was suggested by Mr. Venizélos that even though the clause be not inserted in the Covenant, it will have its effect if incorporated in the Peace Treaty, especially in that portion which provides for the recognition of new states. We have shown why this will not be nearly so satisfactory. On the other hand, it should be remarked that the establishment of the League of Nations gives a new significance to clauses of this character. With the friendly right accorded to any nation to draw the attention of the Body of Delegates or of the Council "to any circumstances affecting international intercourse which threaten to disturb international peace" (Article XI), we may rest assured that persecutions and pogroms would not be allowed to continue without interpellation. The Bill of Rights establishes the substantive law, the machinery of the League affords the procedure; both are essential.

It would indeed be regrettable if in the maze of problems confronting the American Mission to Negotiate Peace, the opportunity to advance one of the great traditional policies of our Government should be lost sight of. Perhaps it may be permitted to one who returns from the Conference deeply appreciative of what our President has sought to achieve, to express the fear that the subordinates of the Mission are too much absorbed in a host of European issues with which the American people are neither familiar nor very deeply interested. Besides the ever present danger of making mistakes, or of being misunderstood, there is the greater danger of neglecting essentially American principles. There were tribunes among the nations even at Vienna in 1815 and at Berlin in 1878. There is none more fitted to champion the cause of religious minorities in the present Conference than the United States. Whatever it may achieve in this direction will be remembered long after all the territorial and material adjustments of the present Peace will have sunk into oblivion.

Digitized by Google

World-Empire and World-Brotherhood

By Julian Morgenstern

JULIAN MORGENSTERN, professor of Bible and Semitic Languages in the Hebrew Union College, was born in Illinois in 1881, and educated in the public schools of Cincinnati, the University of Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College (Rabbi, 1902) and the Universities of Berlin and Heidelberg (Ph.D. 1904). He has contributed articles on the Bible and the history of Semitic religions to leading theological and Oriental journals of America and Europe, and is the author of a volume, "A Jewish Interpretation of Genesis," soon to appear. He was President of the Western Branch of the American Oriental Society, 1918-1919, and is now a vice-president of the national Society.

"I AM Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, king of the four corners of the earth—favorite of the gods, guardian of justice, lover of righteousness—the perfect hero, the manly, the powerful, chief of all kings, the great, who annihilates the disobedient. Ashur, the great Rock, gave me a kingdom without compare, and made my arms more powerful than those of any other king. From the Upper Sea on the west to the Lower Sea on the east he subjected all peoples beneath my feet."

With these words Sennacherib, king of Assyria (705-681 B. C.), commences the chronicle of his reign. The self-satisfied consciousness of greatness and imperial destiny and the smug assurance of the favor of the gods, and in particular of Ashur, his national god, are reminiscent of a certain self-satisfied and arrogant monarch of only yesterday. With but a change of names the same words might almost have served as the introduction to one of that monarch's blatant decrees or pompous messages to his soldiers.

This long inscription, engraved in Assyrian language and characters upon a large, six-sided, prism-shaped stone, now in the British Museum in London, recounts all the important events of the reign of this powerful monarch. It constitutes his self-advanced claim to an exalted and undying position in history's hall of fame. It should have been a record of benefactions which left his nation and the world better, wiser, richer, far advanced upon the pathway of enlightenment and progress. But not so. Of the six columns, one-fourth of the first is the introduction cited above; over five columns describe the eight campaigns of this war-like monarch, with full detail as to the many cities captured, lands devastated, immeasurable booty seized, countless enemies massacred, women and children butchered, peoples enslaved, tribute levied; two-thirds

Digitized by Google

of the last column tells of the magnificent palace which this king built. Beyond this the inscription records absolutely nothing. Undoubtedly Sennacherib concerned himself at times with affairs of state, with making of laws and administration of justice. Manifestly, however, he regarded such matters as of too little significance and glory to record. War, massacre, plunder and palaces, evidently seemed to him the prime affairs of life for which a king and his nation exist.

The Assyrian Dream: World Domination

SENNACHERIB was typical of the kings of Assyria, and this record of his achievements as a conqueror and destroyer differs only in geographical names and in number of killed and amount of booty captured from the records of his predecessors and successors. War, conquest and plunder constituted the aim and ideal of the Assyrian nation, and the dream of world-domination and world-empire was born in the minds of Assyrian kings. As early as 2700 B. C. Naram-Sin, king of Agade, a city in the lower Mesopotamian valley, styled himself "king of the four corners of the earth." But with him and his successors for almost two thousand years this was only a grandiloquent title, with little basis in historical fact.

About 1100 B. C., however, Assyrian kings began to regard world-empire as something practicable and attainable. At first their progress toward this goal was slow and halting. But in 745 B. C. Tiglath-pileser III ascended the throne. He overthrew the rival Hittite kingdom to the northwest, and extended the Assyrian empire to the Mediterranean. His successor, Shalmaneser V, continued this work. The following king, Sargon, captured and destroyed Samaria in 722 B. C., and carried away into exile many of the people of the northern kingdom of Israel. His son and successor, Sennacherib, advanced southward against Judah. Although he did not actually conquer the little kingdom, he harassed it severely, and even besieged Hezekiah, its king, in Jerusalem. He was likewise the first Assyrian monarch to come into direct and victorious contact with Egypt, Assyria's most formidable rival. His son, Esarhaddon, reduced Judah to a state of vassalage. Finally, under the latter's powerful son and successor, Ashurbanipal, Egypt was conquered. After eighty years of ceaseless, pitiless warfare the Assyrian dream was realized: the first world-empire was established.

Israel was a little nation, almost insignificant when compared with its neighbors, Egypt, the Hittite kingdom, and, above all, the colossus of the east, Assyria. Its strength and glory lay not in physical might nor in conquest nor in world-empire.

Digitized by Google

In ancient times the belief in national gods was universal. Each nation had its own god or gods, to whom alone it rendered homage. In return it expected its gods to favor and protect it, to bless it with material prosperity and to cause it to triumph over its enemies. All other nations near and far were enemies, actual or potential. The hand of each nation was against every other nation, and the gods of each were expected to be jealous of, to hate and to fight against the gods of all other nations.

The Rôle of Israel

ORIGINALLY Israel did not differ in this respect from the nations round about. It, too, conceived of its god as a national deity, whose sole business was to prosper it. During the illustrious reigns of David and Solomon, when the power of both Assyria and Egypt was at a low ebb, and Israel was thus enabled to make itself the leading state in western Asia and to establish its dominion from the Red Sea to the Euphrates, this conception of Israel's god as a national deity was dominant. He it was, the people thought, who had given them victory and prosperity. But this prosperity and triumph were brief. After barely eighty years the kingdom of David and Solomon, Israel's nearest approach to world-empire, was broken up into little, impotent nations. At first Egypt and then Assyria began to reassert themselves. The original Israel now became the two petty, rival states, Israel and Judah, exhausted by civil strife, and each the prey of jealous, neighboring states only a little less weak than itself. With every passing year Assyria was becoming more threatening and its plans of world-domination more patent. National glory and triumph in Israel gave way to national calamity and depression. Day by day thinking minds in the two kingdoms realized more clearly that Israel was not destined to play the rôle of world-conqueror, that its seeming triumph had been only through sufferance and not because of its own strength, and that in fact only through divine help could it endure even as a small nation.

Why was this? The prophets pondered long over the problem. Was the God of Israel weaker than the gods of other nations, Assyria for example? Was He powerless to protect His people, and must He, too, succumb? Or was He angry with His people, and had He therefore withdrawn His protection? And if He was angry, how might He be appeased and His favor be regained? All these questions suggested themselves to the stricken people. Each was an attempt to explain Israel's troubled history. Time has proved conclusively that the answer of Israel's prophets was the only true solution of the problem.

They said that God had chosen Israel for a high purpose, not to be the strongest, nor the wealthiest, nor the proudest of nations, not to con-

Digitized by Google

quer many countries, not to despoil and enslave many peoples, not to establish a world-empire. God had chosen Israel as His own people because its mind and heart were attuned to Him, because it was somehow gifted with power to see God in everything and to hear God's message spoken to it, not for its own sake nor its own possession, but that it might proclaim this divine knowledge to the world. This became Israel's philosophy of existence.

The Hebrew Prophets As Internationalists

ISRAEL'S misfortunes, the prophets taught, were sent by God in punishment, because it had dreamed dreams of oppression, wealth, power and injustice; and they were sent also for discipline and correction, that Israel might learn the eternal truth that the individual and the nation which would go after selfish desires and false ambitions, though it may seem to succeed and prosper for a moment, must in the end be destroyed.

They taught, too, that God sent other nations against Israel and even permitted the destruction of the nation and the exile of the people as a part of His punishment and discipline. Assyria was but the rod of His anger, Babylonia the instrument of His wrath. Contrary to earlier nationalistic beliefs, the prophets came gradually to teach that God was not the deity of Israel alone, but the God of all nations. In exile the new truth dawned upon the stricken community, that God may be worshipped not only in the little land of Palestine but in any land and in any place. Day by day the knowledge became surer that God is the Creator of the whole earth and all its creatures, that not Israel alone but all men equally are His children, and all men brothers, not to be divided by hatred and distrust and desire for undue power and wealth, but to be united as one family in love, trust, mutual knowledge and good will. Not world-empire and world-exploitation are the supreme ends of existence, the prophets proclaimed and Judaism has taught ever since, but world-brotherhood, world-justice and world-cooperation.

Cain, questioned by God about Abel, his brother, answered, "I know not; am I my brother's keeper?" This question is the basis of society. It has been asked ever since two men first came to live beside each other. And the usual answer, expressed at least in practice, has been that beyond the limits of family, clan or nation, we are not our brother's keeper, but are by nature his implacable rival and foe. Certainly the story implies that Cain expected a negative answer. But to his surprise and dismay the answer came back, if not expressed in words, yet clearly implied in the outcome of the story, "You are your brother's keeper, and are responsible for his life and happiness. Upon you rests the obligation to establish justice and righteousness in the world, that your brother may have

Digitized by Google

the opportunity to realize the full possibilities of existence." And "brother," Judaism gradually learned and taught, means not merely member of the same family, nor even fellow-Jew, but fellow-man, child of the same Father, member of the one, great human family.

Isaiah's Vision of a World at Peace

ISAIAH pictured the period of God's truest favor and blessing as the time when

> "Justice shall dwell in the wilderness,
> And righteousness shall abide in the fruitful field.
> And the work of justice shall be peace,
> And the effect of righteousness quietness and confidence forever."

Even more graphic is the prophet's description of the peace and blessing which shall obtain under the righteous king, who shall rule, not for his own ambitions and wicked and oppressive desires, but in the fear of God and for the welfare of his people:

> "The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him,
> The spirit of wisdom and understanding,
> The spirit of counsel and might,
> The spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord.
> He shall not judge after the sight of his eyes,
> Neither decide after the hearing of his ears;
> But with righteousness shall he judge the poor,
> And decide with equity for the meek of the land;
> And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb,
> And the leopard shall lie down with the kid;
> And the calf and the young lion and the fatling together;
> And a little child shall lead them.
> They shall not hurt nor destroy in all My holy mountain;
> For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord,
> As the waters cover the sea."

And finally, the sublimest picture of all:

> "In the end of days it shall come to pass,
> That the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established as the top of the mountains,
> And it shall be exalted above the hills;
> And peoples shall flow unto it.
> And many nations shall go and say;
> 'Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord,
> And to the house of the God of Jacob;
> And He will teach us of His ways,
> And we will walk in His paths';
> For out of Zion shall go forth the law,
> And the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

Digitized by Google

And He shall judge between many peoples,
And shall decide concerning mighty nations afar off;
And they shall beat their swords into plowshares,
And their spears into pruning-hooks;
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
Neither shall they learn war any more.
But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree;
And none shall make them afraid;
For the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken."

This ideal of world-peace Israel gave to the world. It was born in the mind and heart of Israel largely because of Assyrian and Babylonian oppression. Assyria gave to the world through its kings and armies the principle of world-conquest, world-empire and world-exploitation. In direct answer and refutation, Israel gave to the world, through the mouths of its inspired prophets, the principle of world-justice, world-peace, world-brotherhood. This is a part of Israel's contribution to human civilization.

The Brevity of World-Empires

THE truth of the teaching of the prophets and of Judaism, that the nation which would go after selfish desires and false ambitions must fail in the end, is proved conclusively by history. The Assyrian world-empire lasted barely sixty years; the Neo-Babylonian empire, its successor, less than seventy years. The vast Persian empire, founded by Cyrus in 538 B. C., was overthrown by Alexander the Great in 332 B. C. The empire of Alexander, in turn, endured only until his death in 323 B. C., barely ten years. The kingdom of the Seleucids in Syria, which followed, was little more than an attempt at world-empire. Its dream of world-domination was never fully realized, and even the period of its greatest glory was less than forty years. The Maccabean wars, fought by Jews, filled with Israel's ancient spirit of freedom, rebelling against tyranny and thirsting for independence, sounded its death-knell.

The Roman empire probably represents the nearest approach to world-empire, and also the longest-lived. The duration of its world-domination may be fixed roundly at five hundred years. During this time Rome held sway from Gibraltar to India and from Britain to the Atlas Mountains. It allowed to its subject peoples a larger measure of autonomy, legal protection and participation in the rights and privileges of citizenship than its predecessors, and likewise manifested greater sympathy with, and larger receptivity of, their various national cultures and cults. It was truly the most cosmopolitan government and nation the world has ever known. For these reasons probably it endured longer than any other world-empire. But in the end it, too, perished.

Digitized by Google

The dream of Roman world-empire was revived by Charlemagne when in 800 A. D. he took the title of emperor. But his empire, founded upon conquest and subjugation, endured only until his death fourteen years later. Again in 962 A. D. Otto I, king of Germany, was crowned emperor at Rome, and with him the hope of world-empire was reborn. The title, and with it the hope, passed to his successors and succeeding dynasties, to the Hohenstaufens, the Hapsburgs, and, most recently, the Hohenzollerns. But until yesterday it remained with them merely a hope, a dream, a theory, a self-deluding fiction.

The nineteenth century saw one bold attempt to establish a world-empire. Napoleon carried his victorious arms into Egypt, Palestine and Russia. But again the dream was vain. Fifteen years saw its conception, development and overthrow. Once again the fiat of history was affirmed—a world-empire, founded upon conquest and for purposes of exploitation, is contrary to God's law for men and nations, and cannot endure.

Israel's Dream and Prayer for Universal Brotherhood

DURING all these centuries Israel lived on, a small, weak, down-trodden people. Its land was conquered, its youth massacred, its Temple laid in ruins. It was banished from its ancient home and scattered among the nations. Hatred and persecution were its lot. But Israel did not for one moment cease to believe that God's law governs men and nations, and they who go contrary to this law must perish. Years and centuries passed; conquering and oppressing nations vanished; Israel lived on; and its faith grew ever stronger that in God's own time His law must triumph and the dream of the prophets come true.

Accordingly the rabbis taught that the Torah, God's law, was meant not for Israel alone but for all nations. The Torah had been revealed in the desert and amid fire and water, they said, to symbolize that just as desert, fire and water are free for all people, so God's law is free for all. They taught that God first offered the Torah to one nation after the other, but all refused, until Israel accepted it and became its custodian. But even though they had rejected it, God's law is none the less intended for all peoples, and in the end all must accept and obey it. And they who live in accordance with its precepts, regardless who they be, must equally enjoy God's blessing.

Despite persecutions and sufferings, the rabbis, as leaders and spokesmen of Jewish thought and teaching, persisted in their belief that God is the loving Father of all men. They told that when the Egyptians were drowning in the Red Sea, the ministering angels wished to sing God's praise, and extol Him for His might and His miraculous deliverance of

Digitized by Google

His people. But He silenced them with the words, "My creatures are drowning, and ye would sing My praise!" They asked, too, "Why does the Bible forbid the use of iron in the construction of God's altar? Because from iron weapons of war are made, and what is used for war can have no place in the worship of God." They likewise taught, since God is the universal Father, and all men, His children, are in consequence brothers, peace between them and brotherhood and mutual good will and helpfulness are the will of God. Therefore Israel sacrificed seventy bullocks upon the festival of Succoth on behalf of the seventy nations of the earth, in order that God's blessing of rain might descend upon all peoples. The perfection of all the blessings of God, they taught, is peace; all other blessings avail naught where there is no peace. In the last of the "Eighteen Benedictions," which Jews have uttered daily for over two thousand years, this is the crowning blessing of life for which Israel prays: "Grant us peace, Thy most precious gift, O Thou eternal source of Peace, and enable Israel to be a messenger of peace unto the peoples of the earth. Bless our country, that it may ever be a stronghold of peace, and its advocate in the councils of nations."

German Championship of the Assyrian Ideal

AGAIN in this last war, as so often in the past, the two principles were arrayed against each other, world-empire and world-peace, world-exploitation and world-justice, world-conquest and world-brotherhood.

True to its history, Germany championed the principle of world-empire. The horrifying German concept of the "*Uebermensch*" had developed consciously and systematically. Nietzsche merely gave vocal expression to what had become the innermost conviction of the German soul. The "Superman of German Supermen" planned a world-empire more colossal than even Sennacherib dreamed of. And he planned to attain his ends by methods and at a cost at which even the Assyrian tyrant might have hesitated. It is a well-known fact that Assyriology and Assyrian history, and particularly the wars and conquests of Assyrian rulers, have always commanded the interest of the German ex-monarch. Seventeen years ago he ordered the leading Assyriologist of his empire to deliver a series of lectures before him and his court on this favorite topic. And some years later he himself composed a vapid play based upon Assyrian life and history, with the same eminent professor of Assyriology acting at the royal bidding as stage director, to his own personal humiliation, and with the entire court as the bored yet sycophantic audience. Manifestly there was a close bond of sympathy and fellowship between this German potentate and his Assyrian predecessors, and a

Digitized by Google

marked dependence of German ambitions and methods upon ancient Assyrian models. And so we were forced to endure again in its most ruthless form the horrible dream of world-empire, with its program of war, slaughter and oppression.

But the Assyrian world-empire endured barely sixty years. And every world-empire after it has perished. And once again, in our own day, the inexorable mandate of history has been substantiated; the nation which would go after its own selfish desires and false ambitions must in the end be defeated. Once again the dream of world-empire has been shattered—we trust forever.

Ineffectual "Preventives" of War

UNTIL recently the view was frequently expressed that this would be the last war, because the cost in human life and suffering, national exhaustion and retrogression of civilization was so appalling that men and nations would never again allow themselves to pay the price. Towards the end of the war, however, when we ourselves had become participants, and were paying the price along with our allies, this argument was heard with steadily diminishing frequency. Our eyes were opened and we came to realize that there were still things which would demand a far greater toll of misery than even this or any war, such as national dishonor, human enslavement, destruction of civilization, sacrifice of the truth. To-day we know with absolute conviction that fear and horror and suffering and death, awful though they be, will never of themselves bring about the end of warfare and bloodshed.

Universal disarmament has been proposed as a practical solution of the problem of the abrogation of war and the establishment of universal peace. The argument is that without the instruments of warfare nations will be unable to wage war. And not this alone, it is urged, but also, no longer compelled to devote such a large increment of their resources, both in men and in raw materials, to destruction, or to averting destruction, nations will be able to apply all their energies and wealth to truly productive and creative undertakings.

But beautiful though it be in fact, and practical though it seem in theory, none the less it is only a dream and a delusion. Universal disarmament can never be the forerunner and cause of universal peace. Rather universal peace must be the forerunner and the only basis of universal disarmament. We have seen how quickly weapons of war can be created, if there be but incentive to fight. The Bible tells that even though there was neither sword nor spear nor smith in Israel, none the less the oppressed tribes fought against the Philistines until they had gained independence. It tells, too, that there are causes and principles for which

Digitized by Google

we must wage war, for which not to fight, to suffer, and, if need be, to die, would be the only sin against society and against God. So long as injustice and oppression obtain anywhere in this world, we must be prepared to war against evil. And not to be prepared to wage war effectively, with the best weapons human ingenuity can devise, against the powers of evil, sure themselves to be thoroughly equipped, would be criminal folly and idealistic blindness. Universal disarmament can never bring about universal peace.

The League of Nations Scheme: Israel's Dream Revived

UNDOUBTEDLY the most promising and practicable plan yet proposed is the scheme of a League of Nations, bound together by the common purpose to enforce peace and to further the progress of justice and democracy. Here we have simply a twentieth century expression of the old dream of Israel's prophets, as quoted above. The teachings of Isaiah, Malachi and other prophets give us a complete and perfect program of universal peace, disarmament and human brotherhood. These ancient seers of Israel saw clearly—as clearly as, or perhaps even more clearly than, the philosophers and statesmen of to-day. For they declared that a mere agreement upon a common goal and a co-operative program is not a sufficient foundation for an enduring League of Nations. It needs a change of heart and soul, so that men and nations shall do even more than merely seek after God with their lips. The principles of justice and righteousness must sway them and lead them, not because these pay best and are most expedient, but solely because they alone are right. And until these laws can be firmly established in the consciences of nations, there can be no true, effective League of Nations.

The statesmen gathered around the peace table have approved the principle of a League of Nations and have framed its constitution. But whether this will be a true League of Nations, or merely an empty phrase, written upon another scrap of paper, only time can tell, only time and the measure to which these nations allow themselves individually to be actuated by motives of international justice or national selfishness. An actual living League of Nations is by no means a visionary and unrealizable thing. It can come now quite as well as a hundred or a thousand years from now, if only the nations can be thoroughly just and honest with one another, and can all strive together for the true welfare, not of one nation or group of nations alone, but of all mankind. Then and then only will the causes which make for distrust and hostility be rooted out from international life, and then and then only will war cease automatically.

In the meantime Israel's ancient dream has become America's dream,

Digitized by Google

even as Assyria's dream became that of Germany. In this, as in so many other respects, America has become the spiritual heir of Israel of old. And in the end, at the end of days perhaps, but none the less surely and completely, this dream of Israel and America must become the dream of the world; and not merely the dream, but the waking fulfillment thereof, in the broad, streaming light of day and reality. Then, in truth,

> Nations will beat their swords into plowshares,
> And their spears into pruning-hooks;
> Nation will not lift up sword against nation,
> Neither will they learn war any more.
> But they will sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree;
> And none will make them afraid;
> For the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken.

Julian Morgenstern

"UNIVERSAL PEACE"—BY JULES BUTENSKY, IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK.

Digitized by Google

Job as a Greek Tragedy

By Gilbert Murray

THERE are two great problems, and many smaller ones, that confront a reader of the Book of Job. First, what sort of book is it meant to be, history, allegory, drama or what, that it should present a form so different from all the rest of classical Hebrew literature? And secondly, how came it to deal with a problem so remote from the paths of ordinary Hebrew speculation as that of the righteousness or unrighteousness of God, and what answer does it give to its own question?

Both problems are really beyond the reach of definite answer. We cannot assign the Book of Job to any particular form of literature, because it clearly does not fall under any of the recognized Hebrew forms, and at the same time it is characteristically Hebrew. You can say, "It is like this or that; it is here like Ruth, there like Wisdom, here again like a Babylonian hymn, and in another aspect like a Greek tragedy." But you cannot say that it actually belongs to the same form as any of them. It is interesting to find so many scholars, as quoted by Mr. Kallen,* insisting that Job is not a drama; they evidently felt that it is very nearly one.

Gilbert Murray, renowned classical scholar, and the leading authority on Euripides—hence pre-eminently fitted to pass judgment on Dr. Kallen's theory of the Euripidean inspiration of Job—has been Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford University since 1908, and is the author of a History of Greek Literature, editions and translations of Euripides, and a number of fascinating volumes on classical subjects and present-day problems of literature, religion and politics.

An Ingenious and Fruitful Hypothesis

OUR imperfect knowledge of Babylonian literature should perhaps make us hesitate, but Job looks as if it were the work of a great Hebrew author, part prophet and part wisdom-writer, writing for once under the influence of an absolutely foreign form, namely, that of Greek tragedy. This suggestion—which is as old as Theodore of Mopsuhestia, who died in the year 428—has been accepted by many scholars in some form or other. My own view, held in the most tentative manner, has been that the writer of Job had perhaps heard or read of Æschylus' Prometheus trilogy, and been fascinated, though at the same time shocked, by the problem of a righteous being tormented by an apparently unrighteous God, until the course of ages brings about their recon-

*The Book of Job as a Greek Tragedy, with an Introductory Essay on the Original Form and Philosophic Meaning of Job, by Horace Meyer Kallen, and an Introduction by Professor George Foot Moore of Harvard University. (New York, Moffat Yard & Co. 1918.)

Digitized by Google

ciliation. Mr. Kallen, however, in his most attractive and capable treatise, has sharpened and clarified this conception into something much more definite and detailed. The writer, according to Mr. Kallen, saw a performance of one of the plays of Euripides, not Æschylus, which show the righteous man persecuted by an unjust Providence; probably the *Bellerophontes*. He did not know Greek—for there are no Greek idioms in Job, except in the suspected parts—but he had the plot and the general sense explained to him by a friend. He saw the solemn spectacle, listened to the series of Agônes or impassioned arguments, and felt the value of the Chorus expressing in poetry a more undisturbed view of the main problem than is possible to any of the actors. Above all he was struck by the Euripidean, or traditional, tragic convention of ending the religious performance by an utterance of the god, and he used this *Deus ex Machina*, or rather *ex Nube*, with extraordinary force and beauty at the end of his own book.

How are we to judge a suggestion of this kind? Only, I think, in one way. Not as a statement of historical fact; for obviously that would have to be supported by definite evidence, and there is none whatever; but simply as a provisional scientific hypothesis, by the amount of light it throws on the book and the degree to which it enables us to understand, or feel that we understand, what we are reading. And, so judged, it is not only an ingenious hypothesis, but helpful and fruitful also. A number of passages which have hitherto seemed like excrescences or interruptions will fall quietly into place if they are taken as utterances of the Chorus. The curious figure of Elihu has a certain analogy with that of the Messenger. And the whole book, viewed on this hypothesis, seems to gain more artistic unity than the present writer, for one, has felt in it before. It is a hypothesis which accounts for a good many facts, worked out with imagination and historical sympathy; and it may well stand, provisionally, till another hypothesis is forthcoming which will explain more.

How the Greek Justified the Ways of God

THE second question is in much the same position. The problem of "the Theodicy," or the righteousness or unrighteousness of the Rule of the World, is one that troubled the great minds of Greece far more than those of Palestine. The extreme religiosity of the Jews and their devotion to a subtle and intricate Law made it dangerously easy for them to find in every man a sin large enough to justify any misfortune. Very few of those on whom the Tower of Siloam fell but could have been proved by a strict Pharisee to have richly deserved it. The wider humanity and common sense of the Greek made him readier to take the facts on their face value, and admit that obviously some very good men are externally unfortunate while many bad scamps prosper. The Greek thinker escaped from the repulsiveness of this conclusion, which amounts to a condemnation of the Rule of the World as non-righteous, by a passionate assertion of the all-embracing importance of having the Good inside you, and the utter unimportance and irrelevancy of external accidents. The Stoic rule that "Nothing but goodness (ἀρετή) is good," with its corollary that

Digitized by Google

nothing but badness (κακία), *i. e.*, real internal badness, is bad, carries with it a justification of the ways of God and His government of the world. For, since the good man, by being good, possesses in his soul all that is worth possessing, what does it matter if towers fall on him or boils and blains destroy the fleshly envelope that happens to enwrap him? Such things are irrelevant. He is not touched by them. He is his Soul; and his Soul possesses the Good, and all is well. A Stoic Job would have solved his problem by asserting that all the time he was infinitely happy; the attacks of Satan had not ever touched him.

This is a clear answer, as well as a magnificent and thrilling one. But it certainly does not carry conviction to the average man, and it does not seem ever to have occurred to the author of the Book of Job. What Job's own answer is, I confess I have never quite made out.

Many important sentences are obscure because of the difficulty, or impossibility, of exactly valuing the psychological terms in the Hebrew. For instance, are Job's last words to be rendered: "Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes", as in the Authorized Version; or as Mr. Kallen gives them: "Wherefore I recant my challenge and am comforted amid dust and ashes"? And did Job say: "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him"; or, as Mr. Kallen takes it, "I know that He will slay me, I have no hope"? It makes a good deal of difference; and where is the Hebrew scholar who can pronounce with certainty?

Job's Reaction Is Emotional—Not Intellectual

BUT apart from particular difficulties, I receive every time I read Job the impression that I am moving in a world of profound feeling and splendid imagination but by no means in a world of lucid thought. There are flashes of insight in abundance; revelations of deep places which only great emotion can reach; but not clear analysis, not the solution of a logical or metaphysical problem. Job utters his gorgeous lamentations till words fail him; he answers his detractors till he is tired; in the end he listens to the voice from the whirlwind till he is "comforted" or else crushed. But I doubt if the comfort, or the "repentance", is one based on clear thinking, or even if it would have occurred to a Hebrew writer of Job's time to try to find comfort in his anguish by means of solving an intellectual problem. That was a Greek way of doing things.

Yet, unconsciously and deep beneath the threshold, there must have been something that Job, or the author of Job, believed, and that fundamental thought is very ably pursued and persuasively stated by Mr. Kallen. It is a view which reminds one strongly of "The Free Man's Worship", in Mr. Bertrand Russell's brilliant essay. God and man are not *in pari materia*. God is force, unfathomable and limitless, to which man is of little account any way, and the righteous man no more than the unrighteous; while man is above all things the being which knows righteousness and therein finds his true life. Man must live for righteousness, while the stars and suns know naught thereof. As one of the medieval Arab mystics expresses it, to say that God is "righteous"

Digitized by Google

is just as silly, and implies just as much anthropomorphism, as to say that He has a beard.

Where Job's Analysis Comes to an End

MR. KALLEN puts his case well. Yet, if this was the meaning after which the author of Job was groping I do not think that he ever clearly reached it. He stayed half-way, at an easy and intelligible halting place, which was probably quite acceptable to an Oriental mind though it would have repelled and revolted a Greek. God is absolute King, and it is mere impertinence to ask whether He is "righteous" or not. It implies that the King's will is not the highest law; that there is some Law above God, and that His own creature has a claim upon Him. "Who hath first given to me that I should repay him? Whatsoever is under the whole heaven is mine." Man has no rights; God made him for God's own pleasure, and there is no more to be said. You cannot bring an action against the King of Persia for robbing or beating his subjects; their property all belongs to him, and they are his to beat, if he chooses. To raise the question that Job raises is a mere blasphemy, to be thundered into silence.

The Greek intellect would have gone on thinking in spite of the thunder. No one doubts that God can do what He pleases; the whole question is whether He pleases to do justice or injustice. But Job has been stunned by the overwhelming greatness of the Power he called into question. It is so great that he dares no longer ask whether it is good. He "abhors himself and repents" —or else, as Mr. Kallen prefers, "he is comforted"; but whatever he does, he does in dust and ashes.

Gilbert Murray.

Digitized by Google

A Mistaken Hypothesis

By Max Radin

THE title of Mr. Kallen's little volume does not properly state its aim. It is the writer's contention not merely that Job in its original form was a "Greek" tragedy, that is to say, a literary work in Hebrew, cast in that form, but that it was specifically a Euripidean tragedy in content and in form, "modified in terms of the Hebraic temperament and literary tradition." The arguments for his belief are very briefly stated in pages 23-38. Except for these pages, Mr. Kallen is evidently content to let his restoration speak for itself.

MAX RADIN, a recognized authority on the inter-relations of Hebrew and Greek and Roman civilizations, is the author of an important volume on this subject, "The Jews Among the Greeks and Romans," as well as of many other studies in the same field. He has taught the classics in the New York public schools since 1900, and is Lecturer in Roman Law in the College of the City of New York, and Instructor in Post-Biblical History in Columbia University.

The author is a scholar of varied accomplishment and, in his own field, that of philosophy, he speaks with acknowledged authority. Any carefully considered utterance of his has every claim to be treated with that respect which Professor Moore bespeaks for him.

His hypothesis in detail is as follows: Suppose, at about 400 B. C. E., a Palestinian *hakam,* who is fully possessed of all the traditional learning of his people but is above all a profound religious thinker, bringing to his conceptions of God a glowing and passionate intensity. Imagine him traveling to a Greek city and witnessing there a performance of a play by Euripides, of which he is just able to catch the general drift. Charmed and moved, he returns home and resolves to frame his deeply original thoughts on the problem of evil in this strange and hauntingly beautiful form. His work, all but obliterated by later orthodox scribes, who abhor his methods and fail to grasp his conclusions, has come down to us in the Book of Job.

A Multiplication of Many Improbabilities

IT may be said at once that there is nothing intrinsically impossible in the hypothesis here presented. If we could persuade ourselves to place the writing of Job at about 250 or even 200 B. C. E., the imagined course of events might become probable. All forms of Greek literature had then become widely spread throughout the Levant, and a knowledge of Greek might readily be ascribed to most educated Jews. At that period, moreover, Euripides was unquestionably the most popular of tragedians, although not holding the stage as exclusively as Mr. Kallen seems to believe. It is true that we thereby create a new problem of literary transmission to account for the fact that the

Digitized by Google

original form of Job has been so obscured in the book that we have. But a Job, written in 200 B. C. E., in the form of a Euripidean tragedy, would be in keeping with the general spirit of the times, and would not stand alone. Greek tragedies were written on Jewish themes somewhere about this time. The only such writer that we know, Ezekiel, may have lived somewhat later. But we are not sure of that, and we are by no means sure that he was the only one.

Even for 400 B. C. E., a Job so written would not be quite impossible; but if we examine Mr. Kallen's hypothesis with any care, we shall find that it is a multiplication of so many improbabilities that the chance of its being true becomes, by mathematical computation, a very remote one.

There is, first of all, the grave improbability of the postulated hakam being present at such a performance. In later Hellenistic times, Jews demonstrably attended theatrical performances. At Miletus, a theater contained good seats especially reserved for them. But the magnates of the Milesian Jews who occupied these seats were probably not capable of writing Job, and at that time theatrical performances had been stripped of their religious character. In 400 matters were quite different. We do not even know that the practice of giving theatrical representations had gone much beyond continental Greece. In cities like Syracuse and those of the Asiatic coast, Attic tragedians were most likely known from public declamations of choral passages, and the story of the Athenian captives at Syracuse rather helps than contradicts this belief. Beginning with the 4th century B. C. E. tragedies were dissociated from Dionysia, *i.e.*, festivals in honor of Dionysus, and given at Pythias, Sarapieias, etc., so that very soon the festival, whatever it was, became merely the occasion of presenting a highly popular form of amusement. In 400, however, a tragedy was very markedly the celebration of a religious rite, in which the chorus, the actors and the audience, in the order mentioned, were actual participants. The hakam must have been of a bold tolerance almost unthinkable to have taken part, with whatever mental reservation, in honor done to the Abomination. It is almost as easy to imagine the tolerant and liberal Gaon of Wilna present in a Christian church, or the great Rambam, who dealt in so masterful a way with the whole body of a sacrosanct tradition, knowingly infringing a single precept of the cult.

And Mr. Kallen has made his task still more difficult for himself by ascribing to the writer of Job only a smattering of Greek. That such a man would understand the performance of a tragedy at all is highly improbable, and that he would be able to analyze it as Mr. Kallen thinks he would have done, is practically impossible. It is well to remember that this analysis is the result of the most modern criticism, that generations of Euripidean scholars knew nothing of it and that to ancient critics the theory of Dr. Verrall which makes a rationalist of Euripides is wholly unknown. Mr. Kallen has plainly read with care the various essays of Gilbert Murray on Euripides. But Professor Murray is very much of a poet and something of an idolater, and is therefore, *salva reverentia,* not an altogether safe guide for those who take their Euripides wholly or principally from him.

Digitized by Google

Changes Without Sufficient Authority

MR. KALLEN might have simplified his problem considerably. An educated Jew who in 400 B. C. E. traveled for no other purpose than that of enlarging his mental horizon, might well have known Greek fairly well. *Pace* Professor Moore, he could have gotten little at Naukratis, which was not only insignificant at that time, but never attained civic organization till Ptolemaic times. Until then it was merely an emporium for merchants. But if his travels brought him as far as the Piraeus, where Syrians and Phœnicians dwelt in respectable numbers, he could readily have found and read a manuscript of Euripides. Even in the latter's lifetime, his works already circulated in manuscript so that when the Hippolytus was revised for final presentation it was found impossible to recall the first edition. That the hakam Euripides in this way would be a little less improbable than the conditions that Mr. Kallen has conceived,—but only a little less.

Yet if everything that Mr. Kallen says about the way Job might have been written were credible and probable, his task would have only begun. For it would then be necessary to prove that Job actually was so written. It is perfectly true that neither a mathematical proof nor a judicial one is obtainable in such questions. But any hypothesis must be based upon facts that are observable without the aid of the hypothetical reconstruction. Mr. Kallen cannot be said to have furnished them. Let us see whether his reconstruction itself has the compelling force that can dispense with other arguments.

In the first place, words must be found for the Chorus, an element of Greek tragedy that could not possibly have been ignored. The Chorus of the original was removed by the malignancy of scribes. But these scribes might, one would suppose, have served their purpose better by refusing altogether to transcribe a book of which they abhorred the tendency. We can only repeat the exclamation of crusty old Dobree, *"Quam mira narrantur de librariis!"* "What strange things are told of transcribers!" Mr. Kallen takes speeches from Job and the friends to give to the Chorus. He makes other rearrangements and transpositions (p. 82) and finds then that the choral odes come "pat," exactly where one would expect them to come (p. 36).

All of these redistributions Mr. Kallen says he makes upon "authority." But surely that is lamentably insufficient. *"Si auctoritatibus contendendum,"* as Cicero urged long before, we shall readily be able to adduce an authority to the contrary of every proposition advanced. The word "authority" means very little to those that know what a welter of dogmatic contradictions Germans have made of Biblical criticism. That is not to say that many important results have not been derived from the searching examination which the Biblical text has received in the theological faculties of Germany and Holland during the last two or three generations. But to establish a new and surprising hypothesis, every change made must be presented with the evidence for it,—whether that evidence is derived from some one else or has been gained by independent investigation. A vague protest of critical orthodoxy will certainly not do.

Digitized by Google

A Few Stumbling-Blocks—Stage, Actors, Lighting

HOWEVER, there is the restored text itself. And here we meet the strangest fact of the book. For the restored "tragedy of Job" offered us has almost no external resemblance at all to a Euripidean or indeed to a Greek tragedy. The stage depicted on p. 92 may well have been the setting used by the Harvard Menorah Society in the various performances mentioned in the preface. Surely Mr. Kallen does not think a Greek stage could have looked like that. No Greek stage of which we know anything from writers on architecture or from extant remains, would have been deep enough for it. But what is fundamentally wrong with the stage depicted here is that the *scaena* of a Greek stage was a mere background, variously painted and ornamented and capable of showing a palace, a temple, a tent or even a cave, but nothing of this sort. Again, we see a "Prologue" (p. 86) and an "Epilogue" (p. 162) personified and "coming forward," as they did on the Elizabethan stage but as they did not do on the Greek stage. The Chorus enters on the stage (p. 90), not in the orchestra, where it belongs, and its coryphaeus is definitely named, viz., Elihu, a fact which it would be impossible to match in any known Greek tragedy. Mr. Kallen believes that his writer took the coryphaeus for a "fourth" actor. That is highly improbable, whether he read or saw a play. And Elihu would not make a fourth actor, but a fifth, since we already have Job and his three friends.

We may note incidentally the violation of the "three actor rule." This so-called rule was not a fetish to writers of tragedy and is now and then broken. It seems to have been dictated by purely practical considerations especially when, in Hellenistic and Roman times, the International Society of Actors, who furnished nearly all the trained artists available, refused to supply more than three to a troupe. But the very fact that it was a rule dictated by practice did not make it any the less real. As has been said, it is occasionally broken, but only to a slight extent, when a very few speeches are put in the mouth of one of the Chorus temporarily assigned to a speaking part. Mr. Kallen's hakam has five important speaking characters.

Incidentally the "Prologue," the "Epilogue" and the Voice would need actors to recite them, which, unless we presuppose "lightning" changes of a startling sort, requires at least two more actors.

I shall say nothing about the lighting effects which Mr. Kallen demands (pp. 86, 90, 153, 154, 155), except to wonder by what contrivance the author of Job expected to accomplish in a theater open to the sky, a task that I should not lightly assign to any but a most competent stage electrician of the present day.

"Resemblances" That Do Not Resemble

MR. KALLEN may have in mind a general resemblance rather than one of specific details. In both Job and Euripides he finds (p. 37) "prologue, agon, messenger, choruses, epiphany, epilogue." We may note, in the first place, that an epilogue is found in neither a Euripidean nor in any other

Digitized by Google

Greek tragedy. If the *exodus* is meant by that designation, Mr. Kallen is in error as to its function. Secondly, all these elements are not specifically Euripidean, not even the much discussed *deus ex machina*. It is, however, more important to notice that the elements that Mr. Kallen believes he has isolated in Job do not correspond at all with the elements of Greek tragedy that bear similar names. The prologue is not at all like the Euripidean prologue, even like those ridiculed by Aristophanes. That is not due merely to the fact that Mr. Kallen personifies it. Even if he had assigned it to one of the *bene Elohim*, which would have been much more in accordance with Greek style, the substance would indicate anything but a Greek model. What prologue to a Greek tragedy would narrate a whole series of conversations as the prologue to Job does? Euripides often made his prologue consist of a dialogue between two deities: Apollo and Death in the Alcestis; Poseidon and Athena in the Troades. If Job were a Greek tragedy, the prologue would almost inevitably have shown the council of the Sons of God—at any rate the discussion between Satan and God, who could have been represented by an invisible voice here, as well as in the body of the play. Every modern adaptation of the Job story to the stage has instinctively followed that procedure. The messenger that Mr. Kallen on p. 37 promises to show us does not appear in his restored text, which is probably an inadvertence. As far as the Chorus is concerned, Mr. Kallen can of course feel quite free in selecting material for it. The cardinal question is whether a Chorus existed, and for this the author owes us a demonstration. And the *agon*, which is the whole substance of Job, can only vaguely be compared to that element in Euripides. There is not one *agon*, but a great many of them in almost every one of Euripides' plays. That is due to the dialectical quality of his mind, and to a pride in rhetorical technique that makes him desire to startle honest bourgeois by having some of his characters defend outrageous sentiments in καλοὶ λίαν λόγοι It was, for the Athens of his day, a distinctly perilous display of virtuosity, but it made effective drama. Drama requires a conflict of wills, and two Euripidean characters are no sooner face to face than they proceed to attack each other in brilliant give-and-take of phrase. And the characteristic Euripidean fashion of doing so is the stichomythy, in which every thrust is sharply and briefly parried by another—often fifteen or twenty in succession. If there is anything that the speech-cycles of Job do not resemble, it is a stichomythy.

As to the Epiphany, the words of Yahwe in the epilogue much more resemble the function of the Greek *deus ex machina* than the Voice from the Whirlwind. The original purpose of the θεία ἀγγελία, *i. e.*, the Epiphany, seems to have been to announce a new ritual, or give the reason for an ancient custom, or canonize a local hero. In other words, it stated what the Greeks called an αἴτιον. Later writers, Sophocles as well as Euripides, gave the divine actor a rôle in the economy of the drama by making him resolve an otherwise apparently hopeless complication. Euripides uses it frequently, but so did others. Sophocles uses it in one of the seven extant plays. It does not appear that in any of the known uses was this device absolutely indispensable.

Digitized by Google

It is comparatively easy to suggest another way of securing the necessary resolution. But in Job, if the Voice is the Epiphany, that is the culmination of the whole drama. Yahwe is definitely challenged to justify his conduct. What is noteworthy in the use of the Epiphany by the writer of Job and by Euripides is the striking difference rather than the similarity.

The Entire Hypothesis is Unnecessary

MR. KALLEN asserts that whatever change the Euripidean form has suffered is a sea-change. The modifications are the results of the poet's own personality and of the literary tradition in which he was trained. If that were so, one would expect that the modifications would be dwelt on and their inevitableness expounded, for by this hypothesis the modifications would be of the highest significance for a real comprehension of the poet. But Mr. Kallen does not do so, and it is a serious omission. In fact, as to the literary background of Job, the author finds himself involved in contradiction. Once we read that there "were no traditional forms which gave voice to doubt, to accusation, to defiance" (p. 27). But on p. 67, it seems that Job is only one of a group. There were "any number of dissenting writers." That seems very likely, and its likelihood should have given Mr. Kallen pause at more than one point.

Indeed it is quite contrary to the usual course of literary history to find a new form treated at once in a profoundly modified way. The great writers, adopting an exotic form, are generally careful to preserve the framework intact, however freely they handle the substance. Shakespeare did so, Racine, Molière and Goethe, as well. So the Alexandrian Ezekiel, writing of the Exodus in the form of a Greek tragedy, keeps the form exactly. The narrative, however, which begins with Moses in Midian and ends with the destruction of the Egyptians is as curiously un-Greek as it well can be. How Mr. Kallen can have found it Euripidean is not readily discoverable. We expect a reworking of a form into one in thorough keeping with the genius of a race only after generations of experiment. Unless, to be sure, the author of Job is so commanding a genius that the exceptional becomes the expected. But in that case, the whole hypothesis is unnecessary.

And that the hypothesis is unnecessary is, perhaps, the judgment that will most generally be rendered by scholars. The dramatic form arose quite independently in Greece, in India, perhaps in China, and in Etruria and other parts of Italy and Sicily. It was practically recreated in western Europe during the Middle Ages. To a certain extent, dramatic elements are implicit in most forms of narrative poetry, and such poetry is universal. Hebrew narrative especially, as the whole Bible shows, has a strong tendency to a dramatic vividness of quotation that is not found in other ancient prose. A first-rate poet needed nothing more than the suggestions furnished by his own literature to give Job the dramatic framework that it possesses. That the form does not seem to have been further developed may be accounted for in several ways, the lacunas in our transmission or the theological preoccupations of the literary class.

Digitized by Google

The Joban Philosophy

ONE of the most valuable parts of the book is the essay on the Joban Philosophy of Life. It is impossible to read it without being stirred by its eloquence and seriousness, even when we wholly disagree with its conclusions. Mr. Kallen finds that the "bald commonplace" interpretation of Job makes of it—particularly of the Yahwe speeches—"the last word in cynicism." That is, to say the least, questionable. The bald, commonplace interpretation of Job does not take these magnificent dithyrambs as the description of an "oriental tyrant" (why the *epitheton ornans* "oriental"?) but as a superb version of the "ignorabimus," which was always the Jewish attitude toward the secret things that are the Lord's. That many of these things are not as far removed from human comprehension as the writer of Job believed, does not alter what seems the obvious purport of the speeches or detract from their grandeur. Mr. Kallen must forgive us if we prefer the obvious even when it is characterized as bald and commonplace, to the excessive subtilization that he proposes in its place.

There are a number of casual statements throughout the book which the author would find it hard to prove, some that are plainly erroneous. But this review has already attained undue proportions in dealing with the main thesis of Mr. Kallen's work. The book will amply repay careful reading as the product of a well-equipped and acute mind, dealing with a problem of first-rate importance and interest.

Max Radin

EDITORS' NOTE.—Dr. Kallen's version of Job as a Greek drama has been given three performances—two in 1913, by the Wisconsin Dramatic Society, at the University of Wisconsin, and in Milwaukee; and one in 1916, by the Harvard Menorah Society, in Boston, on the occasion of its decennial celebration. These performances of Job in a "restored" dramatic form offered an interesting contrast to the Stuart Walker production, described in the article which follows.

Digitized by Google

The Book of Job on the Stage

By Stuart Walker

Stuart Walker, American playwright and theatrical producer, has won an enviable reputation in a few short years for the artistry and distinction of his dramatic productions (chiefly of Lord Dunsany's plays). His presentation of "The Book of Job" is described in the accompanying article. He is the author of several plays of rare imaginative quality (published under the title "Portmanteau Plays").

LEARNED doctors who dispute in the market-place have decided many things about the book of the Bible called Job. There is still controversy over its glorious simplicity. Its age has been variously settled at 5,000 and 2,500 years. Its authorship has never been placed, but tradition, as usual, is both romantic and interesting in its story of the source. Men of the kind who delve in internal evidence and prove that Shakespeare never was and that Bacon was Shakespeare tell us that parts of Job are spurious—such a terrible word to apply to the eloquent speech of young Elihu; but unfortunately they know neither the Shakespeare who wrote Job nor the Bacon who might have written it. They do not even know where was the Land of Uz.

So when scholars disagree one may select his own theory.

I read volumes and volumes of words about Job, and not a rushlight of illumination did I find, for Job, it seems to me, speaks for itself. As a child I had once been intrigued (I believe this is the word in vogue now) by the phrase "Job's turkey." Shortly afterward I heard about Job in Sunday-school; but the interpretation of the so-called patient man did not satisfy the imaginary Job who had been created within my particularly private dream-world. Oh, grown-ups, interpreters, teachers, I wonder if you know how your matter-of-fact touch turns child-gold to slag! I had a definite picture of a man with a turkey; but the picture was neither absurd nor frivolous. *It was a living thing,* not a dusty, dead quarto or folio or duodecimo with brown-flecked pages that smelt like a moldy cellar. And all through my life I have fought to keep that living thing in the books I have studied. It is not easy to do; but there was in our household in the narrow little town wherein I was brought up a sense of humor and caricature. My Sunday school droned Bible-stories and Bible-verses at me and covered my dreams with the choking dust of centuries. In my home Bible people were made to live and be real for me, and often I saw them pass the stone stile which had withstood public opinion even after cows were forbidden to stroll in the streets. My grandmother and an old cousin used to have three favorite characters whom they called Job's comforters—Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar. These men were constants. Job himself changed with the varying sorrows of various people. But I had a definite, albeit unscholarly, idea of Job, and I was eager to read about him!

Digitized by Google

Then one fine day I was able to read and I discovered that much of the Book of Job was in dialogue. That meant for me, as it does for most children, something to be "acted out." So I began to "act out" Job in secret. Inaccurate, anachronistic drama, I must have made; but I was interested in the Book of Job, and that was of worth.

Job on Broadway

MANY years later, under the guidance of Mr. George M. Miller, a young Harvard graduate, now Professor of English at the University of Idaho, I was made to feel for the first time in a college course that literature is a living thing and not a dusty library shelf more silent and more uninspiring than an empty grave. Through his enthusiasm old ballads and old plays and old books were made to live and breathe.

Beowulf was a new and thrilling thing and to this day I am unable to tell whether it was preserved in an Ellesmere manuscript or by the University of Bonn; but I can describe the battle with Grendel.

Out of the dead past Job began to emerge.

I did not know that any one else had ever imagined it to be a play. But I determined to play it some day. Whether the rules of Aristotle or Freytag could be successfully applied I did not know or care. I knew that Job was a living thing. I knew that there were never-ending human problems in it. And I knew that it showed a struggle between a man's faith and doubt. I was not a scholar and I did not hope or wish to be one. I was of the theater and to the theater I wanted to give what I felt was the Book of Job. When the chance came to see my plan through I sought some help in interpretation and some spiritual encouragement; but people disagreed in the interpretation of this simple story and organized spiritual encouragement was singularly lacking. Not a literary or religious organization, sect or creed would take any interest in the proposed production of the Book of Job. Isolated ministers and professors and Mr. Lee Shubert (and when you berate the so-called commercial theater remember this) were kind and helpful; but there was not a single *organization* that would turn a hand even after the feasibility of the plan had been fairly proved by Mr. George Gaul's superb performance of Job.

Here, however, comes the strange part of the story. The Book of Job proved so vital, so dramatic that, in spite of my limited means and my modest advertising, it had to be played 31 times on Broadway. To be sure the fabled tired business man eschewed the performance, but as he is constantly trying to eschew himself, why should he not eschew other human and vital things? His wife or his curiosity will eventually force him to see Job, for I shall continue to present the play in the theater as long as I am of the theater, in the full consciousness that it is great drama, great literature, and great acting.

Digitized by Google

Job's People Are Men of Our Own World

THE rehearsals of the play were simple. "These are human beings," I said to the actors, "and it is our work to make them live." Every day we discovered more and more of the keen insight, the exalted humanity, the great understanding and sympathy of the author or authors. His men were definite people of our own world and they differed not at all from us except in their method of decoration and conveyance. (Neither Bildad nor Eliphaz would sit to-day through a performance of the Book of Job, and Zophar would fall asleep!) His play automatically divides itself into three parts—a Prologue which ought to be spoken as narrative because it is narrative; the vital Drama in which Job makes his great discovery; and an Epilogue which is narrative.

The Prologue tells the story of Job's wealth and happiness, of the challenge which Satan (not he of fire and brimstone) made to the Lord, of Job's great loss, of his enunciation of faith, of his still greater physical suffering, of the coming of three friends to comfort him and of his rebellion against life. Here begins the Drama proper. I have this Prologue spoken by women's voices because I think variety is thus obtained.

The Drama proper begins at dawn. Job curses the day of his nativity. He is a man tortured in mind and soul and body. Eliphaz, autocratic, comfortable, orthodox; Bildad, smooth, feline, orthodox; and Zophar more elderly, more tolerant, more sympathetic, and yet none the less orthodox; try to reason with him, using old arguments in old words. Not one of the three advances a constructive idea, not one gives comfort. They all quote what has been spoken from generation to generation, but behind their words is no genuine thought or feeling. Throughout the drama they cling to the idea that Job is suffering because he has been wicked. Job himself rejects this idea, and he continuously strives to reconcile with the facts his faith, enunciated in the first days of his troubles. He can not understand why such suffering should be visited upon him, for he had always attempted to live righteously. But the fact remained that he had been visited with what seemed to him unjust misery, and so great were his material, physical and spiritual losses that only one power could have brought about the complete desolation of his life; that power was God. *"If it be not he, who then is it?"*

The Dramatic Climax

WHILE his friends answer this blasphemy with words, words, words, Job is building an idea. He tries to justify the Lord in his own eyes, and in this attempt he asks the question every man—especially in these days of faltering civilization—must ask of himself, whether it be on the battlefield, in the training camp or in the home: *Is there life after death?* This presents to Job a comforting thought, which the bombastic and hypocritical friends attack. In his annoyance Job sets out to answer them, but he soon relapses into his train of thought and develops his questions into the answer, *"I know that my Redeemer liveth."* This great passage of the Book of Job is variously

Digitized by Google

rendered, but the interpretation which shows Job's belief in immortality is most effective dramatically: and the author of the Book of Job knew more about drama than those who try to show how it should be written. I myself consider this the only possible interpretation. This is the climax of the play. Here after the action—and dramatic action does not always mean slamming doors and falling downstairs, it *can* be metaphysical—is what some critics of drama call "falling." Job clings to his idea; his friends cling to theirs; but his answers to them become more particular and commonplace, although he develops the idea of a personal God to whom he can come face to face, to whom he can talk as man to man. The three friends neither understand nor tolerate this presumption. Argument is useless.

Then Elihu, the personification of youth, taking the snarled threads from the hands of the aging and aged, tries to untangle the ideas he has overheard. He reasons with Job amicably. He suggests the mysteries of nature as answer to all Job's questionings. Then out of the sky comes a tempest; out of the tempest come a voice, which places before Job's mind concrete unanswerable questions. Why challenge a power that is beyond human conception? Why not accept what is and live as best one can? Why exalt human ideas and human power beyond their capacity? Without further questioning Job accepts the words of the voice from the sky. Shorn of false pride, cleansed of revolt, he has heard the voice of God. He is prepared for the happy closing of his life. So ends the Drama proper.

The Epilogue tells simply and swiftly of the righting of Job's wrongs, of the restitution of his losses and of his happy and lengthy old age.

The Work of Poets—Artists—Dramatists

IN rehearsing the play I was made to feel that several minds were concerned in the making of this great poem; but I am not prepared to believe that either the Elihu speech or the Epilogue were not by the original author. If, however, other poets did create these passages they were artists equal to the original, men who knew more of poetry and drama than I could know. Therefore I retained Elihu and the Epilogue. Occasionally through the body of the Drama passages appear which seem out of character, such as the lovely laudation of wisdom spoken by Zophar. And yet Zophar having learned some tolerance in age, might conceivably have said these very things. Much of the poetry of the Voice is less beautiful, less magnificent, less dramatic than what has gone before. For this reason I took the liberty of cutting this part of the text somewhat violently. Otherwise I made only such cuts as would make the meanings clear in dramatic presentation, that is, I cut many passages which merely amplified an idea already made clear. These cuts were made not to improve the Book of Job, but to comply with our modern rapid-transit mode of thought.

Whoever made the Book of Job at whatever time evidently knew human nature and human aspirations. Whether it be on the ash-heap outside the village in Uz, or in the grove at Domremy or on the field at Mons, man as a

Digitized by Google

nation or as an individual has always sought and sometimes heard or seen proof of immortality. This the author of the Book of Job, one or many, had to say, and he said it gloriously, finally, transcendentally. I have shown what I think he meant to say and I have shown it where I think he meant to say it—before people in a temple for such things—the theater.

Stuart Walker

STUART WALKER'S STAGE SETTING FOR "THE BOOK OF JOB"

Digitized by Google

The Future of Jewish Music

A Menorah Prize Essay

By Jerome H. Bayer

Jerome H. Bayer, now a law student in the University of California (where he is a member of the Menorah Society), has devoted himself for many years to musical study, and has been a pioneer in awakening interest in Jewish music among various circles in California. He has arranged numerous programs of Jewish music and given lectures on the subject, and has composed several pieces of music which profess Jewish motifs or inspiration. The accompanying Essay won the Menorah Prize at the University of California in 1917.

As a Jew, I feel a deep interest in the Jewish music of to-morrow, because I believe that the future life of Israel, whether it be religious or national or both, can be profoundly influenced by music. As a musician, I feel a deep interest in the Jewish music of to-morrow, because I believe that the category of secular music will remain sadly incomplete until it contains a true expression of the spirit of Jewish idealism and romance. As a Jew, I look to Jewish music as one significant means to a worthy end; as a musician, I look to Jewish music as a great end in itself.

How can this twofold purpose best be realized? My aim is to suggest an answer to this vital question. I shall treat each purpose separately, directing attention, first, to a discussion of Jewish music as a means of future development of the religious and national life of Israel.

The Peculiarities of Jewish Music

In order that we may know precisely what the Jewish music of to-morrow should be, we must know the nature and scope of the Jewish music of to-day. I assume that, according to a natural classification of music, only that music is Jewish which reflects the Jewish spirit, either directly, by the possession of certain peculiar musical qualities, or indirectly, by long association with Jewish life. With scarcely an exception, all Jewish music of the present falls into two groups —religious music and folk songs. In the first place, let us determine whether or not it contains a Jewish music-idiom, that is, a peculiarity of mode, rhythm or harmony which is characteristic only of Jewish music and which expresses the individuality of the spirit of Israel.

So far as mode and harmony are concerned there is no Jewish music-idiom. Modes used in cantillation are the same as those used in the Cath-

Digitized by Google

olic, Byzantine and Armenian churches. In the hymns and folk songs the major mode and Asbein mode of the Arabs are very largely used. Many modes are employed in Jewish music, but none is peculiarly Jewish. Nor is its harmony any more distinctive than the modes which are used.

Let us next examine the rhythm of Jewish music. The hymns and folk songs have standard types of rhythm. In the Scriptural chants, we find extreme rhythmic irregularity which depends upon the rhythm of the syllables to which the tones act as a setting, and which is employed to mark the finest shades of distinction in the sense of the text. This high degree of peculiar irregularity is, so far as I can determine, exclusively a Jewish characteristic. It has none of the naturalness of the conversational or even the declamatory recitative used in secular music, and although the Koran chants are checked rhythmically by the meaning of the text, they do not, judging from the few illustrations which I have seen, express shades of meaning as fine as those which Jewish Scriptural chants express. Nevertheless, I do not regard this extremely peculiar irregularity as the Jewish music-idiom, because I do not believe that it is expressive of the individuality of the Jewish spirit.

The True Jewish Music-Idiom

WHAT, then, constitutes the Jewish music-idiom? It is the means of producing an effect which is found primarily in the traditional chanting of prayers and blessings, wherein the Cantor is permitted to extemporize freely, being required only to use a prescribed motive as a coda. This expression of Jewish individuality is not very definite, and without the use of notation, it can be most clearly described in terms of its effect. It awakens a unique type of emotionalism—a passionate intensity and a plaintiveness, reflecting the effect of the outer world upon the soul of the Jew, but also reflecting something far more important than that, namely, a profound religious fervor. The Hungarian Gypsy music, when saddest in the depressing measures of the mournful "lassan," never expresses more than the effect of the outer world upon the individual. These chants of Israel express that also, but they express much more than that—deep religious emotion. This effect is brought about by numerous musical devices. There is a constant change of tempo, dynamics and accent, not determined by the rhythm and meaning of the words, but revealing the emotional state of the Cantor at the time when the chant is rendered. The trochaic nuance is extensively used and creates a sobbing effect which is peculiarly Jewish. The duration of the first tone of this nuance depends upon the degree of intensity which the nuance is required to express. Melisma is nearly always used in these chants, but

Digitized by Google

melisma which differs from that of other types of music. It utilizes more of the scale than the Arabian "gloss"; it is seldom as wild as the flourish of the Hungarian Gypsy improvisations, and it has none of the showiness of the Italian bravura except when inferior Cantors revive the custom of a bygone period in Jewish life. At that time the synagogue was the only club of the Jew, and as a result many ludicrous novelties were introduced into the religious service to satisfy the instinct of play. These various musical devices constitute the Jewish music-idiom; they are as Jewish as the feelings of the Cantor permit them to be.

There are, however, types of Jewish music which though not containing this Jewish music-idiom, nevertheless express the individuality of the spirit of Israel, indirectly, by suggesting phases of Jewish life through their intimate connection with that life through many centuries. These types are the Scriptural chant, the traditional hymn, and the folk song.

We have thus far observed the nature and scope of present Jewish music. Let us now look to the future. Should we use this for the further development of the religious or national life of Israel? If so, how extensively should we use it and in what way?

The Musical and Spiritual Worth of the Traditional Chants

I FEEL confident that no type of music which could be introduced into the synagogue and the Jewish home would be capable of influencing the future development of the Jewish religious life as the traditional music can influence it. The traditional methods of Scripture reading are highly expressive and are permeated by an oriental color; therefore they bring to the hearer, if he understands Hebrew, a true appreciation of the Scriptures and their spirit and, hence, a greater intimacy with the sources of our religious feeling. No ordinary reading of Scriptures either in Hebrew or in any other language could possibly have an equally desirable effect. If the hearer cannot understand Hebrew it is his duty to learn the language. The hymns, such as *Addir Hu*, traditional settings of *Yigdal* and *Adon Olom*, and *Ma'oz Zur*, have considerable religious value, even if they have been borrowed from the songs of other peoples; for they not only present expressions of religious sentiment in an inviting form, but they have been intimately associated with religious festivals or the Sabbath for many centuries. These hymns, if used with a sympathetic knowledge of their past, will exert an important spiritual influence. That phase of chanting which reveals the Jewish music-idiom is of paramount importance, for it is the most powerful incentive to Jewish religious development.

Even for the national development of Israel, traditional synagogue music is, I believe, equally as important as the folk song, because, what-

Digitized by Google

ever the place of religion will be in the Jewish nation, really to understand the spirit of Jewish nationalism one must understand the religious life which has always been closely interwoven with Jewish community life. The folk songs, as a direct expression of the community life of the Jew, are, of course, very valuable.

How extensively should this traditional music be used? Should we permit alien music to be sung and played to the Jewish liturgy? No, indeed no! How stupid it is to use music utterly lacking in expressiveness of the Jewish spirit in the synagogue and in the Jewish home! But it is argued that many songs which are now regarded as Jewish have been adapted from very remote sources, for example, *Ma'oz Zur*, which was once a street song, and that through long association with Jewish life they have become Jewish; that the non-Jewish compositions which are now being used in Jewish services will also eventually become Jewish; that the contemporaneous musical fashion of the outer world has ever found its echo in synagogue music. What of it! I admit that the present music of Israel largely consists of foreign elements and I deplore the fact. Why should we drag into it more extraneous material? To substitute Christian church melodies for traditional Jewish melodies is absurd; to substitute them for those chants which contain the very essence of the Jewish spirit, is unpardonable folly. Evangelical melodies and harmonies are akin, in their simplicity, to the material out of which some of our hymns have been formed. But why should we substitute them for hymns which already have such rich treasures of sentiment in their measures, and which will constantly gain more significance as the years pass?

Is Jewish Music Inartistic?

THE introduction into the synagogue of evangelical music is not the only innovation which has been made in modern Jewish music. We now hear in Reform congregations and even in some conservative congregations, pretentious, formal, choral music, in which choir is supreme and Cantor is forgotten, and which by its very nature is not adaptable to synagogue needs. The synagogue requires music which is natural, impulsive and flexible, through which the soul of Israel can find adequate expression. How can formal, rigid, polyphonic music, built upon classic lines and breathing the spirit of classicism, express the intense emotionalism of the Jewish soul! The fact that the oratorio *Elijah* bears a Jewish name and centers around Jewish characters, does not signify that it has any Jewishness. In a Christian church compositions of its character are sublime; in a synagogue they are grotesque.

There are only two conceivable purposes in introducing this type of music into the synagogue—an artistic purpose and a religious purpose.

Digitized by Google

Even if we were to assume that the Jewish music of to-day is thoroughly inartistic, as long as its use is the best means of developing the Jewish religious life through music, why should it be superseded by a type of composition which although more artistic cannot realize the purpose of synagogue music? But is it true that the present music of Israel is inartistic? According to the older and more classic standards wherein conventional precision is required, the chants are inartistic. According to the standards of the modern and more romantic art, which throws to the winds most of the "sacred" rules of composition, the chants and all of the traditional hymns are thoroughly artistic. What would have been regarded twenty years ago as tonal expressions of insanity are to-day regarded as masterly works; for modern music believes that the most characteristic expression of an artistic idea is the most musical, regardless of the rules of the past. Each of these two sets of standards rests upon a great school of thought—the former upon classicism, the latter upon romanticism. I seek to defend neither. I only desire to suggest to the critics of present Jewish music that before they condemn it they must first understand the school of thought upon which it rests.

Let us now direct our attention to necessary changes in the rendition of Jewish music.

Suggestions for Desirable Changes

UNTIL the synagogue choir can rival the Hungarian Gypsies in their unique talent for polyphonic improvisation, it should remain subordinate to the Cantor, serving merely as his support. It is no wonder that we find the Jewish choir of to-day in a loft; it is entirely too non-Jewish in its personnel and renditions to stand upon the altar of Israel.

A simple and sympathetic organ accompaniment can do no harm. Orchestras should be employed sparingly in the service, for they encourage the use of non-Jewish music.

Let us permit neither trombone nor any other modern instrument to caricature the distinctive beauty of the shofar tones. There is no instrument in the modern orchestra which is capable of the pastoral yet trumpet-like effect of the ancient horn of Israel. If it sounds grotesque in a modern service, the service is at fault, not the shofar.

Above all we need gifted and enlightened Cantors; men who deeply love the romance of orthodoxy and the music that goes with it; men whose lives will develop in them the real spirit of their people; men who sing well and whose knowledge of their art is broad enough to enable them to understand the artistic worth of traditional Jewish music. Such Cantors will prove an important factor in the further development of Jewish life.

Digitized by Google

The Jewish Music That Might Be!

AT present, there is really no Jewish secular music. If we would have the musical genius of the Israelite express itself in Jewish terms, we must fill him with a deep love for traditional Jewish music; we must fill his soul with the philosophic problems of the Holy Pages; we must create in him a whole-hearted sympathy for the tragic life of Israel throughout the ages.

I love to dream of a mighty symphony which will express with the peculiarly Jewish religious fervor, the spirit of Israel's conception of God, man, the natural world and the human soul—four soul-stirring movements of the symphony.

I love to dream of a glorious tone-poem reflecting the spirit of the "Giving of the Law." What noble music that dramatic narrative would make—the divine inspiration of Moses, standing in solitude on a lonely mountain peak amid the raging of elements; in bold contrast, the fickleness of an ignorant people; the wrath and grief of the disappointed Lawgiver; the repetition of the first episode; and lastly, the promise of loyalty to the Law which Israel has kept throughout the ages!

I love to dream of a great music drama based upon the tale of the Witch of Endor with all of its mystic color and poetic fancy.

I love to dream of a noble music-sentence symbolizing a pastoral conception of God—a recurrence in regular rhythm of prolonged chords of desolation depicting the gloom and monotony of a vast desert whose awful silence, whose unity of color and contour suggest the eternity of God. Suddenly the sweet, mellow, plaintive tone of a far-away flute is heard, chanting a lovely pastoral melody to which the grim chords become a half-unwilling accompaniment—the shepherd of Israel unconsciously shows us God!

I love to dream of a turbulent Jewish rhapsody composed in the spirit of the chants of old and pulsating with the tragedy of Jewish life, but prophetic of future happiness!

Even the musical expression of that happiness must ever be permeated with a note of sadness, for the sadness of the Jew presents more than his reaction to an unfriendly environment; it expresses his religious fervor and must endure until the spirit of Israel fades from human life. Let us hope with full hearts that such a time may never come! Let us strive to aid the realization of our hope by encouraging a devotion to traditional Jewish music and the development of a new Jewish secular music—noble expressions of the essence of Israel's spirit in the universal language of men.

Jerome H. Bayer

Digitized by Google

"The Carrier of Life"

Biblical and Talmudic Conceptions of the Blood in the Light of Modern Science

By David I. Macht

IN the course of my readings in Biblical and Talmudical literature, I have been struck again and again by the truth and accuracy of various passages when studied in the light of modern scientific progress, more especially in the domain of biology. In the following paper I have noted a number of Biblical and Rabbinical references to the blood, and have pointed out their significance in the light of modern physiology.

DAVID I. MACHT, Lecturer in Pharmacology and Instructor in Internal Medicine in the Johns Hopkins Medical School, was born in Moscow in 1882, came to America at the age of 9, and was educated in the public schools of Baltimore and Johns Hopkins (A.B., M.D.), followed by post-graduate work in Berlin, Munich, and Vienna. Dr. Macht devotes much time to researches in experimental medicine, especially in the field of therapeutics, and has made important discoveries in pharmacology and anesthesia. He is the author of numerous papers and articles in these fields, including several which reveal the advanced medical and hygienic knowledge of the People of the Book.

I

THE etymology of the Hebrew word *dam*, blood, generally accepted by modern comparative philologists correlates it with *adom*, red, and *adamdam*, reddish, and therefore is taken to refer to the morphological characteristic, namely, the color of the blood. Others again, like Fürst, see a relation between *dam* with *dima*, and derive it from a stem *dum* meaning to flow (cf. Heb. *zub*).

Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch (1808-1888), one of the most prominent exponents of orthodox Jewish Biblical exegesis, explains the derivation of the word *dam* in a somewhat different way. This explanation is certainly very interesting, if not strictly in agreement with the views of most modern philologists. It refers to the physiological properties of blood and is strikingly in accord with the modern scientific conception of that medium. *Dam* according to Rabbi Hirsch comes from the root *Dama*, which in Hebrew, he points out, has a double signification. On the one hand it denotes likeness or similarity, on the other hand it denotes destruction and obliteration of all similarity. Now these are exactly the two principal and all-important functions of the blood. According to the most advanced physiological

Digitized by Google

views, the blood is that wonderful living fluid medium permeating all our tissues and bathing every cell of the body, the two principal functions of which are, on the one hand, to "carry foodstuffs and oxygen for their *assimilation*" (the first meaning of the root *Dam*), and on the other hand, "to carry from the tissues various waste products formed in the process of *dissimilation*" or the wear and tear of tissues (the second meaning of the root *Dam*). This definition taken almost verbatim from the most important American textbook on physiology, that by Professor William Howell, may well be placed side by side with the Biblical conception of blood. The following passage from R. Samson Raphael Hirsch's commentary to Genesis iv, 10, expresses the Biblical conception of the function of the blood. It will be seen to agree almost literally with Professor Howell's definition. "*Dam* ist von *Damah*, ähnlich sein, gleichen; ist dem organischen Leibe *assimilierte* Stoff; es ist der menschliche Leib im Flusz, der circulierend überall den entsprechenden Stoff absetzt."—"Blood, from *Damah* to liken or assimilate, is the assimilating substance of the organic body; it is the human body in solution which, circulating everywhere, deposits in its place its corresponding like."

II

THE blood being the fluid element bathing every cell, supplying it with nourishment, relieving it of poisonous waste matter, it follows that it is essential to life, and we are told as much by the Scripture, כי הדם הוא הנפש—"the blood is the carrier of life." The Torah, however, which takes care of our spiritual as well as our corporeal well-being, teaches us more than that. It emphasizes the fundamental fact that blood, although essential to life, is not synonymous with life. The Torah tells us there is a *nefesh*, a soul, a psyche, which still remains and lives when blood and earthly frame are gone. In Genesis ix, 4, we read אך בשר בנפשו דמו לא תאכל—"But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat." R. Hirsch comments: "So long as the animal is alive (in the physiological sense) it is not because *Nafsho b'damo*, not because its soul is in the blood, a part of the blood, but because *damo b'nafsho*, because its blood is with its soul, because its blood is vitalized and activated by the soul. The Torah tells us: when the animal is dead, the soul is not destroyed, the blood hath perished but the soul remains." The phrase *Damo b'nafsho* refutes the mechanical materialistic view of life.

III

"ABOVE all guard thy heart, for from it are the issues of life." (Prov. iv, 23.)

Digitized by Google

This beautiful passage is sound not only in its figurative ethical sense, but also in the physical conception of the heart on which the figure is based. While the modern doctrine of the circulation of the blood is dated from Harvey (1616), the idea of the blood being continuously pumped through the organs and members of the body from a central fountain is clearly expressed in the above verse. The blood stream, "carrier of life," issues from the spring of life or the heart. This physiological fact furnishes the poet an admirable figure of speech to admonish forcibly the necessity of guarding the will power, which in the ethical sense was commonly personified among the ancients by the heart.

A play on the double meaning of the word heart, as the physical organ of circulation on the one hand, and as the seat of the will power, in the figurative sense, on the other, may be noted in the paragraph of Ecclesiastes x, 2,—"The heart of the wise man is on his right side and the heart of the fool is on his left side." The idea expressed is that to the wise man the heart means more than the anatomical and physiological organ of circulation. He recognizes a figurative, ethical "heart," which is on his "right" side. To the K'sil, on the other hand, who according to Malbim is the brute animal, slave of his passions, the heart has but a single, materialistic significance,—it is only the anatomical organ of flesh situated on the *left* side of his body.

IV

שופך דם האדם באדם דמו ישפך

THIS well-known passage (Gen. ix, 6) is interpreted by Jewish commentators in two ways, each teaching a different lesson. The ordinary rendition as given, for instance, in Leeser's translation of the Holy Scriptures, reads: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," and enunciates the fundamental principle of criminal justice dealing with murder. Another interpretation given by some of our teachers, and equally as literal, inculcates an additional lesson, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood *ba-adam—in man* (that is, inside of him) his blood shall be shed," meaning that whosoever spills man's blood within his body, as for instance by putting him to shame in public and causing his blood to mount to his eyes and cheeks, is morally guilty of manslaughter.

However beautiful this moral lesson is, I wish to point out further that it is not only figuratively but literally true. Modern physiology and pathology have shown the important rôle played by the so-called vasomotor apparatus of the body. This is the nervous mechanism controlling the calibre of the blood-vessels, constricting some and dilating others, thus normally regulating the blood supply of various organs and

Digitized by Google

regions of the body and maintaining our physical well-being. The functions of this delicate vasomotor apparatus can be easily interfered with and deleteriously affected by various agencies, foremost among which are violent emotions. It is a well-recognized fact that a man can actually be "bled to death" within his own vessels, without any external or internal wound, through violent emotion such as overwhelming shame, fear, etc. The well-known pathological condition known as "shock," occurring after severe mental or nervous breakdown, is an example of such a paralysis of the vasomotor apparatus. In shock the proper distribution of blood to the vital centers cannot be maintained through the paralysis of the vessels of the splanchnic area, that is, the vessels supplying the stomach and intestines. The result is that those organs become engorged with blood, while other vital organs, such as the brain, do not get a sufficient supply of it and the patient often dies. Here we have a state of things literally described by the Hebrew

שפיכת דם האדם

—"spilling man's blood within him."

V

BLOOD-LETTING is a therapeutic procedure which has been practiced from the remotest antiquity, and is frequently mentioned in the Talmud. There was a time when it was practiced to excess, so that the celebrated mediæval physician, Van Helmont, wrote that a "bloody Moloch presides in the chairs of medicine." This accusation could not be brought against modern physicians who went to the other extreme and neglected blood-letting too much. Of late the value of this measure has been again recognized and very recently still further emphasized by the brilliant work of my chief, Professor J. J. Abel of Johns Hopkins University, through the discovery of the so-called "Plasmaphaerisis," a method by which a patient may be bled, his blood corpuscles washed and again reinjected into the system.

The vital point, of course, in all the blood-letting procedures is the question, how much bleeding can a patient stand? How much blood can be withdrawn from a man without endangering his life? It is interesting to note that this question has been raised, discussed and answered in the Talmud. In Sabbath 31a we read that a reviith or one-fourth log of blood (about 250 grams) remaining in the vascular system is the minimum amount compatible with life. That is certainly the extreme limit to which any blood-letting procedure could be carried without danger to life by any modern method.

Digitized by Google

VI

THE prohibition of eating blood and the consequent custom of meat-salting are among the essential practices of orthodox Judaism. Although there are still those who make much ado about sapping the strength of the meat through the custom of "salting," the preponderance of scientific evidence from modern hygienic, physiological and pathological work points in unmistakable terms to the superior wholesomeness of Kosher meat. Kosher meat, that is meat which has been freed from its superfluous blood, is undoubtedly possessed of greater keeping qualities than any other form of raw meat. It is a well-known fact that different parts of the body undergo decomposition at different periods after death, some putrefying earlier than others. Thus, for instance, the brain, the stomach and the intestines begin to decompose very soon after death. On the other hand, the heart and the blood-vessels (free from blood) are very resistant to putrefactive processes. I have recently shown experimentally (*Journ. of Pharmacology and Experimental Therapeutics*, 1914) that a piece of human pulmonary artery, excised soon after death and kept on ice in a suitable medium, was still alive 49 days after death. On the other hand, blood is one of the bodily tissues which undergo decomposition very soon after death, so that, unless it be quickly removed from flesh, the whole becomes unfit for consumption. It has been in fact experimentally proved that meat washed free from blood will keep fresh and wholesome for a much longer period of time than other meat. Thus we note again the beneficent effect of the Torah injunctions.

VII

IN Genesis xxxvii, 31, we read, "And they took Joseph's coat, and killed a he-goat, and dipped the coat in the blood." In reference to this passage, Rashi remarks: "The blood of a goat is like unto that of man." The same explanation is found in the Midrash and in Targum Jonathan. If we observe this comment with an impartial mind and unbiased judgment, two facts stand out clearly in the above words. However the authors might have come to their conclusions, whether inadvertently through a happy accident, whether through inborn intuition, whether through empirical observation or experiment or whether through divine inspiration, here we have clearly implied, first, that the blood of different animals is different from one another, and secondly, that the blood of some animals, *e.g.*, the goat, is similar to that of man. This is in perfect accord with the latest scientific data on the subject. As is well known, the blood is a complex tissue consisting of a liquid stroma called plasma and of solid elements, chiefly red corpuscles, suspended in the

Digitized by Google

plasma which give the blood its color. The red corpuscles are tiny red discs, the shape of which differs in different classes of animals. In man and in the domestic animals, *e.g.*, the sheep and the goat, the red blood corpuscles are round discs which are biconcave, hollowed out in the center. On the other hand, the blood corpuscles of the camel are elliptical in shape. The blood corpuscles of various birds and fishes are also very different from those of man in that they possess a nucleus. These anatomical differences between the red corpuscles of various animals are of utmost medico-legal importance. Thus, for instance, a criminal case is on record in which large blood stains were proved on examination to be of goose's blood and not of human blood. The blood of man, though easily distinguishable from that of camels, birds and fishes, is not so easily to be differentiated from the blood of the ox, the sheep or the goat. The only difference morphologically is in the relative size of the corpuscles as compared with one another, and according to the latest modern authorities this is insufficient in old and dried blood as a differentiating criterion between the blood of man and that of the goat. It is, therefore, from a Jewish point of view of special interest to note the comment of Rashi on the above-mentioned passage from the Torah.

David J. Mocht

A DELIGHTFUL causerie on "Some Pharisaic Delicacies," by Israel Abrahams; scholar and litterateur, so favorably known in America no less than in his own England and Cambridge, will appear in an early issue of THE MENORAH JOURNAL.

Dr. John H. Finley, Commissioner of Education of the State of New York, and head of the Red Cross Mission to Palestine, who has just returned from his second official trip to the Holy Land, will contribute an article on his personal observations in Palestine and his views upon its future administration.

Digitized by Google

GENERAL LIBRARY
JUL 10 1919
UNIV. OF MICH.

THE MENORAH JOURNAL

VOLUME V
No. 3

JUNE
1919

"Whither?" . . . . . S. BARUCH
An Undelivered Commencement Address
(Dedicated to the Jewish Youth of America)

What the World Owes to the Pharisees
R. TRAVERS HERFORD
The Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture for 1919
With Introductory Note by A. S. O.

The Jewish Contribution to Modern Social Ethics . . . . . CHARLES W. ELIOT

Shir Ha-Shirim A Poem . . . . MARTIN FEINSTEIN
("My Song of Songs")

Religion and Nationality . . . . . LEON SIMON

The Palestine Land Program . BERNARD A. ROSENBLATT

The American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem . . . . . JAMES A. MONTGOMERY

The Jew as Autobiographer . . . . HARRY SALPETER

PUBLISHED BY THE INTERCOLLEGIATE MENORAH ASSOCIATION
600 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK :: :: :: 35 CTS. A COPY

Digitized by Google

Best & Co.

MEN'S CLOTHING

"Made in Our Own Shops"

WHY do we operate our own shops? Because it is the *only* way we can take guesswork out of men's clothes—the only way we can be CERTAIN that our CLAIMS and our CLOTHES exactly match. Besides it eliminates the wholesaler's profit. This saving is for you.

These Summer suits get their style and fit from custom processes. Factory methods would fail.

28.50 34.50 37.50

The cloths are all wool; the thread is all silk; the construction is all right. You should wear them.

Best & Co.

Fifth Ave. at 35th St.

Men's Shop—Fifth Floor Entrance—1 W. 35th St.

Established 1879

You Never Pay More at Best's

Kindly mention The Menorah Journal when writing to advertisers

Digitized by Google

THE
MENORAH JOURNAL
VOLUME V JUNE, 1919 NUMBER 3

"Whither?"

An Undelivered Commencement Address

Dedicated to the Jewish Youth at the Crossroads

By S. Baruch

TOUCHED by scepticism or wedded to agnosticism—intellectual, clever, modern—the Jewish youth stands at the crossroads and asks: Whither? The sign-posts read: "Judaism"—"Modern Thought." The Jewish guides, idly straying, entertain the wayfarer with gossip or rhetoric or apologetics; they are blind to the change in landscape and horizon. The wayfarer is perturbed. Insurgent, with the eternal fire of youth in his eyes, he cries—Progress! But he is also thoughtful; and from the inmost depth of his soul he craves—Order. How to progress without breaking away from a three-thousand years' order or tradition—that is the question.

S BARUCH is the literary pseudonym of one of America's most brilliant scholars and bookmen; young in years and in spirit, an iconoclast who reveres the past, a sane, sincere, lovable optimist who would build a new untheological Judaism of sound knowledge and warm-blooded human quality. In the Menorah he finds his chief hope and creative enthusiasm; hence this appeal to our Menorah youth to assist in the great task. Our "commencement speaker" is also one of the joint authors of the Correspondence Between a Jurist and a Bookman —"On the Future of Jewish Learning," in the April-June, 1918, issues of The Menorah Journal.

There was never a time in history when it was more urgent and needful that the intellectual and spiritual energy of the Jewish people, of which we talk so much, should be set in motion and kept in full swing. We must "reconstruct" our Judaism out of the havoc of an external emancipation, out of the ravages of an economic Juggernaut, and out of the ruins of the war and its accompanying effects. We say it ourselves, and we hear it from our neighbors, whether friendly or hostile,

Digitized by Google

that we are ethnically, historically, and culturally somewhat distinct. That is to say, there *is* a national Jewish character. We have a religion, a philosophy, and an ethics. We have brought forth a native civilization and a native culture, and we have produced native cultural values on the basis of a "foreign" civilization. The drama of our history hangs together. As a more or less separate group, the Jews of to-day, *qua* Jews, live intellectually and spiritually above their means. Unproductive of real, human values, we, like lazy heirs, go about prattling of the great wealth we have inherited from our ancestors. We speak of our "tradition," forgetting that it was once our "heresy"—a great living force, and not a mere family heirloom.

Gifted Minds Whom Judaism Has Lost

IF we do not wish to be ethically and morally bankrupt, we must begin to be historically and psychologically honest. We must with sincerity cultivate a scientific mind towards Jews and Judaism. The several Jewish schools of thought—Orthodoxy, Reform, Conservatism, Zionism—write on their blackboards ever so many exclamation marks but never a query. A question-school in Judaism is earnestly needed by the condition of the times. There is much to re-value of what is now being valued in our inherited "system" of Judaism. Synagogue and Temple are not uncompromising seekers after the truth—the Jewish truth. Our conservatives (a sort of modern "Lovers of Sorrow") confuse mere emotion with ideas, while the latter-day (non-kabbalistic) "Calculators of the End" put forth their major desires as major premises, and refuse to correlate facts. Neither the main divisions nor the sub-sections in Judaism march in the ranks of the advancing column of Knowledge—if the one or the other is not in opposition to that advance. We do not extend the field of Jewish knowledge; we do not even bring order out of the chaos within the field. We need clear, objective, and abundant thought. We must renovate the "House of Jacob"—the house of Jewish thought and Jewish life, lest we perish ignobly.

The army of gifted minds which Judaism has lost is truly appalling. I am not thinking of the St. Pauls, the Hebrews of the Hebrews, "of the tribe of Benjamin" (the little tribe!), who broke away because of a change of conviction. Neither am I thinking of those who through the portals of the Church have escaped the tempests of persecution; or of those whom the need of a career for their talents forced into a feigned acceptance of Christianity. I am, rather, thinking of our modern Apostles of the Gentiles who left the Synagogue because of their large and liberal discontent with the immobility of certain of its institutions. These Jewish Dissenters may or may not have been baptized in the Church; they

Digitized by Google

were truly converted to Western thought. Heine, a "good European," saw deep when he viewed his own baptism as being the purchase of an *entrée-billet* for European culture. It is impossible for the fastidious mind to be conservative, let us say, in religion, and progressive in politics at one and the same time. And Judaism may continue to lose many more gifted minds if Jewry fails to nurture them. The Spinozas, the Heines, the Boernes, the Ganses, the Marxes, the Lassalles, the Mauthners, the Bergsons, the Brandeses—to mention only the greater and greatest, and not to speak of a thousand others of less mark—how rich could be the Jewish Life of Reason, how infinitely advantageous to Judaism's health and growth, would they (consciously) have rallied about Judaism or would Jewry rally about them. Indeed, the catalogue of Jewish geniuses whom Judaism has lost during the last century alone is profoundly melancholy to contemplate. Like the shipwrecked sailors of the Trojan fleet, only "a few are seen here and there, swimming in the boundless ocean"—sick at heart and broken in spirit, because of the immense distance between their ideal conception and the actual present-day tone of our people.—I am referring to the Zunzes and the Zangwills.

And, truly, in the keen endeavorings and in the proud fights of these dead, wounded, and missing Jewish heroes in philosophy, in poetry, and in criticism; and in the true achievement of other individual Jews in science and in art and in music—we Jews of the younger generation seek and find our ideal of life, and seek to find also our *Jewish* ideal. For it was a Jew, a thorough "Oriental" (and not a half Greek and half Jew), who, when the Occidental world revolted from medievalism and proceeded to build anew the house of modern thought in which the best and noblest men of to-day live and labor—it was the Jew Spinoza who drew the main plans of the structure and furnished the designs for its interior decoration; so attractive and mind-compelling, that the world *had* to build. Spinoza it was who freed the human mind from the trammels of the rigid word: alike in faith, in morals, and in reason. The excommunicated *Bahur* became the father of the "larger liberality"—the first to dissociate morality from religion. More perhaps than any other thinker, this great and lonely Jew has been the inspirer for a Life in Reason. Thither points the truest thinking of a Goethe. Thither, too, draws the utter yearning of a Shelley. Who knows: perhaps to Spinoza's teachings belongs also the future?

It is not alone our "right," it is also our "duty" as Jews to live and think and have our being in full accord with "Western" concepts. Judaism and the Jews are part and parcel of European thought and civilization. And a living Judaism, we love to think, is capable of providing a permanent home for the modern thinker, the scholar, as well as for the

Digitized by Google

fastidious and eclectic mind, the introspective and meditative intellect, whom it is losing daily, and at whose desertion the thoughtful Jew of our generation looks more in pain than in anger.

Israel's "Blue Flower"

WE want to plumb Judaism's depth and earn the delight in finding Jewish verities underlying much that is living and gladdening in modern thought. Judaism is not—never was—synonymous with catechism. It is higher than religion. The garment of the *Taryag Mizwot* is, indeed, too narrow for the modern intellectual Jew. No matter how much you may card it and weave it and twist it with *Shaatnez*—it will never fit.

Judaism (the name is "accident" of language—like all names) is a historic phenomenon. Judaism "happened" to the human world. Or, since we believe that the human world is what men make it, it was made by the Jews. Proper modesty of modern thought (the mark of the modern man) forbids us to speak of it with theological assurance as being pre-ordained. This Judaism is not something printed and ponderous and finished. It is living and, hence, capable of developing. In an inner and profound sense, Judaism is a tendency rather than a doctrine. It is the attitude of the Jewish mind which we recognize or believe to have been ever working in the Jewish prophets, sages, thinkers, and law-givers. In its highest and deepest, in its noblest and purest, it is a certain condition of what metaphysicians call the soul—a condition such as was Spinoza's own; viewing life and death, man and the world, from the point of view of eternity. *Amor Dei intellectualis* is the great "goal," the supreme end, Judaism sets. This end does not lie in the infinite beyond. We may know it if we live it, think it, experience it. No human mind's eye can see farther and not be blinded. No human can see farther and live. There the horizon ends. Yonder (we are *driven* to think: we are "sentenced," as it were, to think on and on and on)—yonder are the glad regions, where the pure forms dwell, where the "blue flower" blossoms; *Geulah* (Israel's "blue flower") has its home there. This "blue flower," swinging in its secret element, is full of native grace and beauty. From these regions, a fragrant breeze may waft towards us earth-bound creatures. But when gathered by clumsy hands—analyzed, classified, systematized—flower and blossoms become a heap of ugliness. We call it mysticism, spiritualism, Kabbalism—words or names that make the ears of the superstitious and the "folk" tingle.

Judaism's religion—we often hear it said—is devoid of the higher idealism. There is nothing "moral" in our ethics, say the Kants. Jewish philosophy, say the Chamberlains, is materialistic; a Spinoza, we

Digitized by Google

are told, does not propound the big questions of Whence? and Whither?

Young men and women: An Idealism without a psychology, or, what is the same, with a mistaken psychology—a "mystical," gift-from-heaven idealism—this higher idealism spells higher nonsense. In the dim dawn of our history, on the plains of Chaldæa, our father Abraham (whether a historical person or a figment of tradition does not matter) began the process of weeding out from our hearts and minds certain legends; he demolished the idols of his tribe. Generation upon generation of our ancestors have diligently labored at this weeding-out process; with the result that to break idols has become Judaism's mission. It is perhaps just this fact that helped to make the intellectual Jew more free in spirit, the average Jew more logical in mathematics, and the pious Jew more psychological in religion. From the beginning we chose the "longer way" to God: Knowledge of God; not the "short cut" of communion with the Divine. We still prefer the guide of the Torah to the medium of a Christ.

Judaism and "Higher Idealism"

THE devotion to practical ideals did not deter the Jew from becoming a dreamer of beautiful dreams. The religion with the "higher" idealism, on the other hand, could not help developing an insatiable taste for material goods (witness the war and the—"peace"!). For the "higher" idealism is nothing but a conservation of past superstitions, or, if you will, a modernization of Terah's idols or legends. And if Judaism has not busied itself with the furnishing of such rules for conduct as would lead "straight" to the attainment of a certain (rather indifferent) private perfectibility, the Jews who "practiced" Judaism have set noble standards of character; the prophets, Hillel, Jesus, Spinoza, and countless unnamed martyrs to the idea of the *Ehad.* Also: we are veterans in speculation. Our lofty intellects grappled with the problems of divine justice and mercy, the ways of God with man. We have speculated for thousands of years on man's own great end; but we know that it is futile to ask certain questions. The nations and peoples that ask the "big" questions are still in the springtime of innocence, in the age of intellectual extravaganza. We are a mature people; we have learned resignation.

As a philosophy of life, Judaism, in its conscious and unconscious logic, may or may not show intellectual and other inconsistencies. But if it be true—and the "Jewish Question" and the experiences of history point to that fact—that every man born into this world is, intellectually and spiritually, either a "Greek" or a "Jew"; then we born in Judaism, and, in all likelihood, born Jews, see in Judaism the truth. Relatively; not absolutely. We also know that the sum of all truth is not limited.

Digitized by Google

There is much that has not been "revealed" as yet—either to Jew or Greek.

There is no definite and fixed fund of human knowledge; so there is no definite and fixed fund of Jewish knowledge. Knowledge has been compared to a mountain with a spiral road and numberless observation points or stations. From its newly attained station, each generation looks back over the whole distance traveled by preceding generations. That which is new in the vista that the new generation beholds from such an observation point, we call the "Spirit of the Age" or the *Zeitgeist*. Humanity travels from station to station on the mountain-road; reaches higher and ever higher Pisgahs—only that the summit can never be reached, for the mountain itself is not fixed but is forever moving or growing: the world changes. The *Zeitgeist* changes; more slowly at one time than at the other, but it is never fixed, permanent. While mind's very nature may be said to be its change.

Variety of mind is as natural among ethnic or historic or cultural groups as it is among individuals. It cannot be rooted out; and should not be allowed to dissipate.

Judaism and Modernity

THE Jewish mind is the sum-total of Jewish thought. The Jewish spirit is the collective memory of the Jewish people. Jewish consciousness is the special fund of experience of the Jewish community. Nations and groups and individuals carry with them their past. The past is contained in the present. You cannot leap over your own shadow. You cannot deny your own spiritual ancestry. Therefore, we love our Judaism because we are Jews; rather than: we are Jews because of our love for Judaism. It is fallacious to think that the Jew is primarily a man and only incidentally a Jew.

A richly stored fund of Jewish experience craves for expression. And the knowledge-hunger of the Jewish youth could and must be directed towards a wholesome Jewish diet. A finished Judaism, a *fait accompli*, does not whet their appetite. But a Judaism that is in accord with modern thought would. This modern thought, consider, is not mere perversity of youth, but rather the natural and human process of the spirit of the age. It is a principle of growth. It is the way of mind. "The human mind," says Taine, "flows with events like a river." You cannot hold it back by hurling mountains of dogma and rocks of "tradition" against its rolling floods; for it will cut its way through mountain and rock.

We have inherited our Judaism, and we make no attempts at its continuation. The world could not do without the plastic beauty of Hellas; but neither can it do without the ethico-speculative spirit of Judaism. If the delicacy of modern thought is a Greek contribution, its seriousness is

Digitized by Google

a heritage from Judæa. There are in Judaism certain ideas about life, about morality, about society, with which the world must reckon in the future. The gap between modern thought and Judaism is not so intellectually bridgeless. We shall not have to build up from the ground; we shall only have to build better.

Their steadfast adherence to their ancestral creed, active hostility, and compulsory separateness kept the Jews long isolated. Even now, and even in Western lands of their emancipation, there are traces of their social isolation. The result was a cutting-off of Jewish study and thought from all the living movements of the "great" world. We, no less than the world at large, treat Judaism as something special and "mysterious," set apart from all other studies. And it is just this isolation that produces in the minds of our intellectuals the impression that Judaism is something "unnatural," irksome and wearying. Shall we—dare we—blame them because they feel that the right to the pulsating thought-life of the present is as holy as the duty to the past—a dead, because unrelated, past?

And so the feeling is strong with us that we are not as Jews doing what we might, that we are remiss in our intellectual and spiritual duties as Jews. American Jewry is undergoing a tremendous social experience, is, in a sense, building up a new life in a new country. What is the deeper meaning of this experience—wherein does this deeper meaning find expression? Our passion for righteousness, for social regeneration has become a passion for wealth. We have no organized higher life. We create no human values. We do not even maintain an intellectual element of our own. Materially more or less prosperous, we are becoming spiritually dull.

And if we do not cultivate Jewish learning, and if we do not foster Jewish ideals—what is the meaning of our distinctive existence?

The Culture of Judaism on American Soil

OUR religion, which is to a great many Jews the sole object of our separateness, is on trial like all religions. Our intellectuals, like other intellectuals, may esteem the religious life, but are indifferent to the religious profession, whether it be one of conviction or that of convention. We Jews of the younger generation are as little striving for innovations in the Jewish ritual as we are desirous of a change in American etiquette. We neither advocate a return to "Mosaism," nor have we any ambition to revive "Hebraism." We know that "no people ever reverts to its ancient position" (Zunz). It is impossible, and it would be pernicious.

We must have a new *raison d'être;* we want to see the Jewish people bring forth, on the basis of Judaism, an organic continuation of their

Digitized by Google

culture in—America! Not an "independent" culture, which is no more possible than an "independent" civilization, and which is quite unnecessary and, in some aspects, even illegal; but an inner culture: a culture with the Jewish tincture, intellectually and spiritually, which may flourish on America's soil. For the soil is fertile. . . . Environment, we suspect, is an element of "race." Environment is as strong as race. Man is bound up with his dwelling-place.

We yearn to see Jewish life and Jewish thought clearly, and see it in harmony with general life and thought. We must struggle to find a way to the larger life of humanity: free and full, in harmony with our past, in harmony with our nature or character. Modern life and modern thought seem to call on Judaism for a reply. It is only by sustained and collective intellectual labor that we may find out how Judaism "works" in relation to the several aspects of this modern world in which we find ourselves. Zion and ITO-land are not our only *irridenta;* the whole world of modern thought is our *irridenta.* Judaism must enter into fruitful relations with modern thought.

What if it does "burden" Judaism with "foreign" elements! Judaism cannot be considered apart from the general history and institutions of humanity. The Jews, recollect, have lived in the very midst of the busy world, and not in a house by the side of the road. Says Zunz: "Without a knowledge of general history, we lack the clue to the history of our race. The customs and institutions of our ancestors that have any reasonable foundation. . . originated in contemporary events." We cannot understand the history of ancient Israel apart from that of her neighbors. We cannot follow the rise and development of Judæo-Hellenic thought apart from the fortunes of Greek culture in Egypt and the Orient generally. For the clue to Arabo-Jewish culture we must seek not in the Talmud schools of Babylon, but in the Islam of Spain. Our critico-historical literature originated in the home of history—Germany. Our learning, our science, our native culture is closely interwoven with our general history, which for two thousand years has also been the history of nearly all countries and peoples where and amongst whom the Jews lived and labored. Nor should we forget that certain events simply happened to us: our political emancipation, for instance. It was the outcome of that world-historic movement which we connect with the French Revolution. We did not inaugurate it. To know and understand the history of the Jewish emancipation, we have to follow the development of the political and social ideas of the nineteenth century in general.

In short, have we always laid out the main roads which humanity has tramped? Have we always set the goal? Have we not followed as much as we led? And our intellectual "pioneers"—have they not often crystal-

Digitized by Google

lized rather than created? I mention the clever and imitative Philo in ancient Alexandria. I may even recall here the intellectual giant Maimonides in medieval Spain. And can there be any doubt about the rôle played by the persuasively dogmatizing Mendelssohn in modern Germany?

The Rich Contribution of the Jewish Intellect

NEVERTHELESS, it remains true that Judaism at various periods in history has influenced the world's thought profoundly. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that to know the history of European thought it is necessary to know the history of Judaism and the meaning of that history. The Jewish influence has been both direct and indirect, and the results were ever so important for Western civilization and the Jews themselves. The Bible became the book of the peoples. Philo's philosophical teachings (ignored by the Jews) influenced early Christianity. Ibn Gabirol's *Fons Vitæ* was the fountain from which medieval Christian schoolmen drank. (The Jews knew him not as a philosopher: he did not support his arguments by quotations from Bible and Talmud.) And the influence was not alone religious. Hispano-Jewish culture was mainly, if not wholly, intellectual in its influence. A Maimonides did much to enthrone reason. At a time when the rest of Europe lay in darkness, the Jews in Spain kept alive, fostered, and augmented the ancient learning of the world. Judaism gave the world the greatest herald of the new era in Spinoza. Judaism has contributed richly to the progress of social institutions; and the Jews have played a great part in the intellectual life of Europe. Judaism it was that awakened in the hearts of a Boerne, a Heine, a Hess, a Lassalle, a Marx, the lofty ambition to sweep away autocracy from Europe—an ambition which carried on the ideals of the old prophets. Forces reared in the Russian Ghetto fought and bled for freedom and justice.

Still, the perversion of the name of Judaism continues to an extent that is truly appalling. A great deal of it is malevolence. But a great deal of it is sheer ignorance. In most histories of ideas, Jewish subjects are seldom discussed, and if mentioned are dismissed in a footnote. Excepting the Bible, our literature, unlike the Greek and Latin "classics," is not yet regarded by the world as its inheritance. The universities show but little disposition to take up the study of Judaism as a whole. The colleges do not make the study of our literature an integral part of their curricula. Tradition, you will say, is against it. But tradition was also against the several subjects that have been taken up by universities during the last sixty or seventy years: demands were made for their recognition. The Jews are making no effort to obtain recognition for the

Digitized by Google

systematic study of Judaism. The fight for our political and social freedom in the world must also be a fight to exchange intellectual and spiritual goods with it. To liberate our Judaism, Jewish study must first win for itself a background analogous to general study. The Jews themselves must make such an approach to the study as will gain the confidence and enlist the support of the general (Jewish and non-Jewish) scholar and humanist. Jewish study, like all study, has but the supreme purpose of searching for and diffusing human knowledge.

With Leopold Zunz, the Jewish Erasmus, we conceive Jewish history as an essential part of general history, and Jewish knowledge as essential human knowledge. Our intellectual life and our spiritual treasures do not belong to us alone, but are the heritage of all mankind—just as the literature, art, and philosophy of Greece, and the civilization of Rome belong to the whole world. Our literature is not "rabbinic," and it is not all ritual, even as our history is not a sermon or a "lesson." Jewish literature is highly human in subject matter, quite simple in expression, and sufficiently "practical" to suggest points of application to modern life and problems.

Linking the Past to the Present

NEW knowledge grows by cultivating old knowledge. To add to our literature, we must master our history. Jewish scholarship has but yesterday entered upon its labors. Zunz and his school gathered in only the first fruits; the field stretches interminably before us and we are losing generation after generation of harvesters.

We have no morbid preference for things dead or dying. But Judaism, a historic phenomenon, is in certain aspects quite meaningless if it does not link the present with the past. This past must be studied and pondered and meditated. Like the past of other peoples, it must be revised in the light of modern ideas. The seer, the dreamer, and the poet may be consulted. But the opinion of the disciplined critic and the trained historian, too, must be heard. They shall link the past to the life of the present and the ideals we cherish for the future. We desire no violent break with the Jewish past. We love the old house that our fathers built; we shall never abandon it. But we must build on to it; extend it. We revere our fathers' land; but we love our children's land. Hebrew was the "holy" language of our fathers—we shall study it; but English is the living tongue of our brothers: we must endeavor to gain a mastery over it. The memory of our past shall give momentum to our future. But—to vary the words of the Hebrew poet—If Israel is to be a dead hero, the modern world its grave, and its literature its epitaph—is our problem

Digitized by Google

really a problem and not merely a question as to whether *Kaddish* may be said or masses sung in commemoration of the day its spirit fled?

We have lasted as Jews for perhaps six thousand years. As a people, it would seem, we have a life of considerably more tenacious cast than a great many other peoples. We have adjusted ourselves innumerable times to our surroundings, and we shall find a means of continuing the process. Judaism carries within itself the power of development and adjustment, else it must have perished long ago. We shall live; and Judaism shall again develop itself in fresh splendor!

But ghosts, too, will not die. And you cannot kill them. The "Jewish problem," namely, stands now where it has been during the past twenty-four centuries of our history. A large majority of Jews in the world are, even now, compelled to maintain an attitude of painful waiting. We ourselves live at best in a state of benevolent neutrality—on the part of our neighbors. Some individual Jews attempt to "solve" the problem for themselves by accepting a humiliating peace; by a cringing assimilation. Born as a Jew into the world, one almost always belongs to the world because, for some inexplicable reason, it becomes so easy to draw the world's attention and its hatred on oneself at a bound. It begins at birth and does not end with death; nor, for that matter, with baptism. Zangwill, living, is "the Jew," say the Bellocs and the Chestertons. Heine, dead (and baptized) for more than sixty years, is still "the Jew." (Read Hayn and Treitschke and Bartels and a hundred others.) Spinoza, excommunicated by the Jews, is nonetheless attacked as a Jew. The world does not seem able to forget our being Jews (it has often seriously tried to do so); and we should remember it ourselves, instead of being reminded of it by that persecuting animal, the Jew-hater, who hates the Jew for the mere pleasure of hating. Unhappily, whatever we may do, however we may do it, we shall be attacked just the same by this gentry.

"Without Jewish Knowledge—No Judaism"

OPTIMISM is the medicine prescribed by our spiritual or conversational physicians. It is a quack medicine ("to be inspected before using"). We are afraid because we walk in an Egyptian darkness of thought. We perceive not Judaism's grandeur and liberating power: we know not its history, and understand not its meaning. We are told that relief is promised from political and social disabilities (what about the new Poland?)—as if the Jewish question were mainly political. Let us not hug the comfortable belief that through the activities of the Anti-Defamation League and with the good wishes of the Balfour Declaration the end of our *Galut* will be reached. Against certain caricaturing of

Digitized by Google

Jews and Judaism it is useless to argue and undignified to protest. And the Jewish problem is not essentially a question of "national homelessness." (A "homeland" is indeed a good and noble cause; only it is being defended —and even more so attacked—by bad arguments.) It is not a problem to be solved by philanthropists or statesmen. The Jewish problem has been in turn religious, economic, social, ethnological, psychological. The problem itself has not changed; only its formulations have changed. We should remember that anti-Semitism, about the origin of which there has been some bold romancing, is a phenomenon intimately associated with our whole history. It antedates Christianity by many centuries. The hatred of the Jews may continue until the book of his history is closed. Maybe —who knows?—it has a "purpose" or a "moral."

Perhaps what the world calls the Jewish question is one of the fundamental problems of thought which the human race may never outgrow. Jew-hatred may be a consequence rather than a cause of this problem. Jew meets Greek and a problem is presented. . . . Maybe it is the *Frage an sich*—one of the persistent questions to which there are no answers, and, perhaps, no content. This hatred has torn off many blossoms, has nipped many twigs; but it could not destroy the Jewish tree itself.

Determined to live—destined to live as we seem to be—we must "strive to *be* rather than to *appear*." We must refuse to bow to the Baal of mere convention or the Moloch of brute force. Our first need is a new orientation of the whole of Judaism, and an organization of our thinking. We must collect our ideas, and collate our ideals. Only thus may we grow up to a Jewish philosophy of life. And we feel the obligation to grow up to it acutely.

Without Jewish knowledge no Judaism. This knowledge, unlike our political emancipation, cannot happen to us. This sort of thing does not come by enactment; it must be acquired. Scholarship, like philosophy and art, generates in social life; it must, therefore, have an objective basis in institutions.

The Battle for Intellectual Freedom

AND we want more than a knowledge of existing material or facts gathered by historians. Handbooks of facts, or mere organization of materials, are not yet history. Graetz's "History of the Jews" is but an outline in 6,000 or more pages. And Jewish history can be viewed, and must be viewed, from aspects other than as a chain of persecutions in its political bearings, and as a stratification of rites and ceremonies in its cultural bearings. Our history still waits for genuine inquiry. We need more "facts," and we need more ideas. Mere facts yield no knowledge. Ideas alone may run wild. The written and unwritten history of science,

Digitized by Google

of philosophy, of economics and sociology, and, last but not least, the history of freedom of thought, are crowded with Jewish names. The world at large is not cognizant of the fact; and the Jews themselves need as much education in this direction as anyone else.

We do not intend to earn for ourselves the doubtful credit of a "spontaneous creation" of a system of Jewish thought. Spontaneous creation may be the delight of mythological gods; but it is not the foible of modern men. Not by magic, nor by exegetical tricks, but by intelligent study and efficient organization may we endeavor to give system and co-ordination to facts already known, make known others that are existing, and relate the whole to our thinking and our age.

We see in the scientific, that is, objective, study of Judaism the sole path to Jewish knowledge, to Jewish wisdom, and to a rational enthusiasm for a Jewish life. The expounding of Judaism is work more for the professor's chair, and less for the pulpit, where half-knowledge may pass for real knowledge, where almost everybody, rabbi or *gabbai*, prepared or unprepared, may speak his mind. Judaism is a religion, say they. True enough; yet is it the truth? Insofar as Judaism is a historic phenomenon, it must be studied critically, dispassionately, "disinterestedly": scientifically. And there can be no science without intellectual freedom. Nor shall we ever attain our science by resolutions—be they passed by conferences of rabbis or by Jewish congresses. It can only be acquired by study. And the battle for intellectual freedom may never be won unless we have an army of young men and women that is ready to make sacrifices.

Never has the necessity for intelligent effort on the part of the Jewish people been greater. But also never, perhaps, have the days been richer in promise than the present; and—let us add—in America. There is a clear wind blowing through the air. A great wave of change is sweeping over the world. What is old and musty is tottering to its grave; the new and virile is asserting itself. The fetters are removed; the wings are free. The Jewish youth has proclaimed freedom, is setting out to conquer it by work and study, by contemplation and meditation. It is not lacking in courage, and it is destined to gain in power: a freeing and saving power. For the signs are not wanting that Menorah—the Larger Menorah—is likely to be the next great Jewish experiment.

The Challenge of the Menorah

IN Menorah we have a passionate challenge to conventional Judaism. Menorah stands for a diffusion of the Jewish intellectual wealth. Uncompromising truth is its ideal. Menorah is not "dedicated" to

Digitized by Google

mas of Orthodoxy or Reform or Conservatism or Zionism. It wears not the chains of partisanship. Only such academies may be truly scientific as are truly free. Through Menorah (and, maybe, also *in* Menorah) we may nurture and discipline a student class, a critic class, a scholar class, which will seek and find intellectual contact with the large world, and not merely tease and worry our scholarship. There the spirit of the Jewish student may enjoy greater liberty and larger opportunity as a discoverer of Jewish truth than in Jewish politics, or in Jewish philanthropy, or in Jewish theology. For Menorah brooks no restrictions. It shall free the student's creative impulse from control of all kinds of authority, so that his expression may become spontaneous and abundant. It shall be solicitous, vigilant, and opulent in safeguarding our intellectual health and growth. And Menorah is, indeed, a deliberate challenge to performance. Ideal scholarship, as nothing else, may build the strongest bridge towards an understanding with the intellectual world around us.

To the entrenched Jew, Menorah says: Look over the parapet. True, there is danger; but there are also untold possibilities. Freedom carries with it both. The "assimilationist" Jew (a close and polite neighbor), Menorah invites to a re-consideration of his position. Judaism, he may learn, is a growing ideal rather than a complete theory. And that certain (often childish) dialectics, a pompous externality, and frenzied sensuality are not so worthy of imitation—that loftier, nobler, and even more "romantic" is the moral truth and reality of life as found in the teachings of Judaism. Indeed, we confess no inferiority.

Menorah (a symbol of light) may illumine the way to an intellectual haven from the vexations to which we, as Jews, are exposed on the tossing waves of the ocean of life. Once more the Jew may realize that he is something more than a reciter of *Kaddish* or of supplications, and that to "remember the days of old" is not done simply by tying-in handkerchiefs, as old peasant women do to make themselves remember things, or, as certain Jews are wont to believe, by the tying of the *Tefillin* (noble as that may be). But remembering the days of old shall liberate the thoughtful Jew from the spites of the moment by inviting him into a world of dreams, of holiness, and reality: grand, pure and serene.

To Cultivate a Glad, Living, Creative Judaism

NOT a burnishing up of existent Jewish institutions is the end we have in view, but a glad, living, *thoughtful*, or, if you will, a *creative* Judaism—a Judaism that shall connect at all points with the creative thought of the present. Judaism has much to teach, but it also has something to learn. In truth, we claim no superiority; we claim simple equality. We

Digitized by Google

are not opinionated monopolists of the truth, but ever groping because fired with the desire to identify ourselves, as Jews, with the life of our country and through it with the larger humanity. We shall cultivate a humble mind. We love learning; it is no amiable frivolity with us. But we love wisdom even more, and therefore may not reject it simply because it be a pure expression of experience or intuition. Scholarship, not pedantry, originality, not sensationalism, Jewish, not biased are our values. Jewish scholarship and Jewish idealism will lift us out of our commonplace selves, and justify our living as Jews at all. We confess ignorance as to what our vocation may be in the future. We refuse to fly in that distant though agreeable direction, where criticism need not be feared. Instead, we shall endeavor to inform ourselves what our contribution has been in history. Looking at the past we can set no limit to the future. We have in the past performed special tasks of the intellect; we have created several aspects of thought. We have thus a special genius. We may have a special *message*, if we dare not claim a special "mission." But we must expand—lest our survival as Jews be hollow and useless.

The task is colossal. The young are our hope. The old are lost beyond redemption. Perhaps the old, too, would rally about our ideal. An Elijah is needed who would stir them to a consciousness of sin and to a necessity of duty—to help develop this common aim, to unite with the youth in this common program: to keep alive the better Judaism.

Jewish youth at the crossroads:—Do not surrender because the conquest will necessarily be slow and laborious. Foster your minds on the intelligent performance of this task. You are young and adventurous: you are young enough to conquer, and you should be adventurous enough to live up to your ideals. Most of us who are on the P. M. side of the thirties have had our wings clipped by the dull scissors of "responsibility." We must needs make haste. For men's minds, they say, ossify after forty. We bid you, as elder brethren, to join with us in fellowship in a Larger Menorah. You must combine into a powerful organization that your views may acquire impressiveness and the opinions of the individual not die away unheard. In this manner you shall advance sturdily and unimpeded along the path which you have marked out for yourselves. An insurgent youth is capable of drawing heaven and earth together. It may mean the discovery of a new power in our "blood," and a Judaism that is an ideal of life.

To the Jewish Youth At the Crossroads

IS it worth while—does it really matter?—Listen to the sad music of a noble thought:

"If there are ranks in suffering, Israel takes precedence of all the

Digitized by Google

nations—if the duration of sorrows and the patience with which they are borne ennoble, the Jews are among the aristocracy of every land—if a literature is called rich in the possession of a few classic tragedies, what shall we say to a National Tragedy lasting for fifteen hundred years, in which the poets and actors were also the heroes?"

Remember that the heroes who composed and acted, thought and lived this tragedy served great ideals. Remember that they waded through seas of blood and tears for their ideals. The memories of old may incite woe in your hearts, but they will also stir you on to a proud fight; the proud fight that Leopold Zunz fought; the fight that was the best in Heinrich Heine; the fight that is Israel Zangwill's. In your journeyings through Jewish history you will pass many martyrs' graves that mark the road, but also innumerable living fountains and pellucid lakes, gathered in beds of rock and gravel, about which Jewish sunbeams play. You will travel over deserts, you will wade through morasses, but you will also stroll across sunny fields where the grass is green and velvety, and where flowers bloom abundantly. Judaism has not discovered *the* truth, the *whole* truth, the *absolute* truth; but neither have Egypt and Babylonia, Greece and Rome. In their voyages of exploration, our fathers journeyed with Babylonian and Egyptian, with Persian and Greek. In their wanderings they met with Roman and Arab, with German and Slav, with French and English. In the summer of our life, when the sky was clear, the Jewish sun shone in heightened radiance. Even during our long winter when the days were cold and dreary, and the sky was darkened by cloudy waves of persecution, our heavens arched high: we have produced great poets and thinkers and scientists. We were the culture bearers of the Middle Ages. Soon unfriendly neighbors forced us into Ghettos, and made us the keeper of strange vineyards; our own vineyard we have not kept.

Give audience to your truest thought, to your deepest feeling, and tell us, pray: Is the great Wanderer weary—do you feel it in your heart of hearts that Israel can wander no longer—and is the Jewish youth at the crossroads only waiting till all is quiet and silent; hoping and praying that the Wanderer lie down and wipe his pale forehead and—die?

S. Bandh

Digitized by Google

What the World Owes to the Pharisees

By R. Travers Herford

The Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture for 1919

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

By A. S. O.

"SCRIBES and Pharisees, hypocrites! Serpents, offspring of vipers, how shall ye escape the judgment of hell?" This and more of the same character we read in Matthew xxiii.

Modern Jewish scholars are of the opinion that but for Paulinism, the Synagogue might have accepted much of the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth as an integral part of its system; there is nothing in it that is opposed to Judaism. The first Gospel was preached to Jews exclusively. But with the work of St. Paul ("a Pharisee of the Pharisees"), the separation of Jew and Christian began. What the modern Jew rejects is not the religion *of* Jesus but the religion *about* Jesus. But they may say with Nietzsche: "The first disciples of a doctrine prove nothing against it."

R. TRAVERS HERFORD, eminent as a scholar and as a fascinating writer, was born in Manchester, England, 1860; educated at Manchester, London, and Leyden universities; Unitarian minister at Stand until 1914, when he became Librarian of the Williams Library, London. His long devotion to the study of Rabbinical literature, and his series of scholarly works, particularly his well-known volume on "Pharisaism," are described in the accompanying Introductory Note.

Paulinism made the parting of the roads inevitable. While Christianity was producing the books of the New Testament—an undoubted part of Jewish literature—Pharisaism was working at the Mishnah, the great *corpus juris*. But the business of compiling laws did not make the Rabbis forget principles. In *Halakah* and *Haggadah* they laid down, together with ritual laws, rules of right conduct and serious things of impersonal and universal import that still captivate the spirit. In the teaching of the Rabbis, letter and spirit, body and soul are intimately combined. Their aim was rather to co-ordinate all the elements of a complete life than to eliminate any. The Pharisee we meet in Rabbinical literature is not bound in spiritual chains. Fervor rather than fear was his *leit-motif*. He is indeed more notably intellectual than businesslike; more spiritual than traditional. The Oral Law or Tradition was never fixed and complete, but fluid and continuous. Guided by an ample and attractive ideal, the ideal also advanced. It is still growing.

Pharisaism it was that kept Judaism a living religion as well as a cultural force and made it flourish alongside of Christianity to this day. In spite of this fact, Christian scholars, past and present, have denied and are denying Judaism everything that is good and moral; have attributed and are attributing

Digitized by Google

to Judaism most, if not all, that is bad. Christian scholars treat the Old Testament and the history of Israel as introductory and, therefore, inferior to the New Testament and Christianity. In the teaching of Jesus and his disciples, they maintain, is the consummation of what the Prophets had to give to the world. In a thousand books—in "purely historical" treatises—it is written that Judaism is a superseded fossil, that it belongs to past history, and is no longer a fact.

The truth is that from the study of Talmudic lore to the study of the Gospels the scholar does not enter a strange land; and *vice versa*. The idiom of thought is quite the same in both; the difference lies only in the idiom of speech. Rabbinical literature is far more difficult than the New Testament; it is also far more extensive. With few exceptions, Christian scholars are not at home in Talmudic literature. The fact is, we are still without modern critical editions of the most important works of this literature (to the doubtful credit of Jewish scholarship and Jewish Maecenasship, be it said). The flagrant misrepresentations of Pharisaic teaching may be due, in part at least, to the inaccessibility of the Rabbinical literature. And it should also be pointed out that the Rabbinists simply retaliate: what is good in the New Testament, say they, is not new and what is new is not good. Talmudical students do not turn to the investigation of the New Testament. They still play the game of hide-and-seek. The same is true, with the fewest exceptions, of Jewish scholars in general; while the average intelligent Jew refuses even to inform himself.

The foremost exceptions are Dr. Israel Abrahams and Mr. Claude G. Montefiore—the great exception. Mr. Montefiore, the well-known leader of Liberal Judaism in England, published, in 1909, a *Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels* in two substantial volumes; wrote on the *Religious Teaching of Jesus* (1910); and on *Judaism and St. Paul* (1914). His attitude towards the New Testament to-day, he believes, will be "the common attitude of Liberal Judaism to-morrow." Though he stated his position with sweet reasonableness, he was none the less severely criticized by both Jews and Christians. The Jews were quite bitter in their attack. And Christian critics complained "that in spite of all his appreciation of the Gospels, he is hopelessly far removed from the borders of Christianity."

The unbiased appreciation of the New Testament which Mr. Montefiore, the English liberal Jew, has manifested, Mr. R. Travers Herford, the English liberal Unitarian Minister, shows of the Rabbinical literature, which, to quote his own words, has been to him "the fascinating study" of now nearly forty years. Mr. Herford has ample Rabbinical learning. His explorations in Talmudic literature are well known to students. Before the great Rabbinical scholar S. Schechter commenced the publication of his *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology;* and before the Nestor of American Jewish scholarship, Dr. K. Kohler, had written his *Jewish Theology,* Mr. Herford, in 1890, published an essay entitled: "A Unitarian Minister's View of the Talmudic Doctrine of God" (Jewish Quarterly Review, edited by Abrahams and Montefiore, vol. ii). Being of the belief that Talmudic literature must also be consulted for a thorough investigation of the origin of Christianity, he gathered and presented, in 1903, the almost complete material of *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash.* While it is true that other Christian scholars have come to recognize the importance of the Talmud for Christian origins and have since made it the subject of their investigations, they, however, have not been so free from theological

Digitized by Google

bias: they injected a christological or un-Jewish point of view in their interpretations. Mr. Herford, on the other hand, treats the subject purely from the point of view of historical scholarship, with no prejudice towards either Christianity or the Talmud.

Acquainted with the highways and byways of Rabbinical lore, Mr. Herford set out to make clear the Pharisaic conception of religion in his *Pharisaism: Its Aim and Its Method* (1912). (The work has been translated into German by Frau Rosalie Perles, mother of the distinguished Jewish scholar Felix Perles.) The book, the author tells us, was written "in the hope of helping towards a sympathetic and unprejudiced recognition of the intrinsic worth of Pharisaism." It is, indeed, a very fair account of the Pharisees and their standpoint. We learn that Pharisaic Judaism was not a change from the Judaism of the Bible but rather its development. The reorganization of Judaism which Ezra began after the return from Babylon (444 B. C.) was crystallized by Pharisaism or Rabbinism or Talmudism. Contrary to the belief of Christian (and a few Jewish) critics, our author shows that there was no conflict between the teaching of the Prophets and the Rabbis; the latter were the spiritual heirs of the former. Pharisaism established the synagogue—the first attempt at public worship without a cult. "It is the Pharisee who has kept the promise of Israel; and to these latest days he keeps it still." The Talmud, the *bête noir* of Weber, Wellhausen, Schuerer, Harnack, Holtzmann, Charles, and many others, is—quite against the fashion—proven a wonderful mine of religious ideas and a great source of spiritual religion. His criticism is directed mainly against Weber's "mischievous work." Rightly so. For most Christian critics of Judaism who know not the Talmud or know it only from stray quotations always argue with reference to the inevitable *System of Synagogue Theology* by Weber. Mr. Herford never tires of warning the student against it as "a most unsafe guide, as it presents the results of great learning from a standpoint entirely mistaken and by a method fundamentally wrong." Thus in his Introduction to the *Pirke Abot* or the Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, which he translated for the collection of the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (edited by Charles, 1913).

A non-Jew, Mr. Herford writes without partiality. But though objective, he is never indifferent. For it means justice to the Pharisees: a vindication of the ways of men—the ways in which a whole people walked for twenty-four centuries. While such is the ultimate goal of Mr. Herford's *Pharisaism*, he nowhere indulges in rhetoric nor in abstruse learning, but expresses his thoughts in language clear, plain and direct, even as he carries the baggage of learning lightly on his shoulders. The present writer knows of at least one Jewish seminary library where the book is almost always charged "out." No wonder. The book makes good reading; and it was long overdue.

Mr. Herford's thoughtful essay, "What the World Owes to the Pharisees," is a supplement to his sympathetic study of *Pharisaism*.

A. S. O.

I HAVE called the subject of my lecture "What the World Owes to the Pharisees." I am indebted for the form of that title to my friend, Dr. Israel Abrahams. It expresses exactly what I had in my mind, but expresses it with much more clearness and point than the title I had

Digitized by Google

thought of at first. It carries with it a kind of a challenge, it invites attention, and though it does not invite, it suggests contradiction. For there are many who are not aware that the world owes anything at all to the Pharisees, and who would be very slow to admit the possibility of such a debt. Have not the Pharisees been described once and for all in words which still burn and sting after nineteen centuries? How should such as they have served the good of the world in any smallest particular? Even a man so widely read as Harnack, from whom better things might have been expected, committed himself to the extraordinary statement that Pharisaism had fulfilled its mission to the world when it produced the apostle Paul! (Hist. of Dogma. E. T. I. p. 94). For sheer perverseness and entire misreading of the facts of the case, Harnack's dictum would be hard to parallel. No doubt he thought he had satisfactorily disposed of the case by that neat epigram.

That the real truth of the matter is widely different it will be my endeavor to show. I shall not need, and I shall not attempt, to make extravagant claims on behalf of the Pharisees, as I might be inclined to do if the case were weaker than it is; and, although I have been told (and I own the truth of the remark), that I have always a soft place in my heart wherever the Pharisees are concerned, yet the simple truth about them so far as I have learned it, will serve them better, and the cause of truth better, than any flattery.

The question then is, "What does the world owe to the Pharisees?" And I would ask you to observe that this is not the same as "What does Christianity owe to them?" It might prove to be the case that Christianity owed nothing to them, had learned nothing from them, was in no way the better for their age-long presence in the midst of Christians, while yet it might still be true that that continued presence had resulted in much benefit to the world at large, even that part of it where Christians are in the majority. If this be so, and I shall try to show that it is so, then indirectly Christianity also has benefited from the presence and influence of Pharisaism.

The order which I shall follow in working out my case will be that of proceeding from the well-known to the less known, from an initial fact which admits of no dispute to what I hold to have been the originating cause and explanation of that fact. This is the reverse of the historical order, which would be to start with the Pharisees and show what has come from their teaching and in what way they played their part in history. But if I took that line I should lay myself open at the outset to criticism and objection before I could get to the stage where I could show how Pharisaism really explains what has to be explained.

I shall therefore begin by considering the plain fact of the presence

Digitized by Google

of Judaism as a living religion at the present day, after an unbroken continuous existence through all the centuries of the common era. In the second place I shall try to show what it was which enabled Judaism thus to persist, in face of all the assertions that it ought to have died out, and the still bolder assertions that it did die out, when Christianity rose into prominence. The answer to that question I shall find in the principles of Pharisaism; and this will lead me in the third place to consider what special element, what characteristic feature of Pharisaism contained the "promise and potency" of that marvellous vitality, made it able to ensure the continued existence of Judaism with the results which we see. A few concluding words will serve to drive home the final result.

Judaism Not Dead Nor Likely to Die

FIRST then consider the fact that Judaism is a living religion, now at the end of nearly nineteen centuries from the time at which it is said to have received its death blow; or, if not its death blow, at least its notice to quit, the time when its claims to any right of survival were denied, the time when in the opinion of its rivals it ought to have died, and did not.

Christian writers who have made such assertions have not been consistent. If they really believed that Judaism had died out, had at least withered into a barren faith, as Canon Charles puts it, they would have let it alone. Why spend time and learning in assailing a dead enemy? If Judaism were dead, why had Christianity anything to fear? If anything must be said about the Jews, why not write disquisitions about the long forgotten Jewish religion, as scholars now write about the religion of the Babylonians or Egyptians of far antiquity? But Judaism was not dead, or anything like dead; and Christian writers wrote as they did, partly at all events, from a keen sense of the mischief which they thought Jewish controversialists might do to the Christian religion.

Then, if Judaism were not dead, the Jews according to Christian writers were besotted in ignorance, afflicted with "blindness and hardness of heart, and contempt of God's word and commandment," as interpreted, of course, on Christian lines. If so, then why spend time in confuting them, or, what was certainly easier, in reviling them? Why not leave them to the neglect and silent contempt which according to this theory was all they deserved? Why pay attention to the words of men who were only blind leaders of the blind, from whom all the light of truth had been taken away, and who could only mumble the dry bones of a dead tradition, instead of gratefully partaking of the bread of life? Again the answer is that Christian writers knew well that they could

Digitized by Google

not so dispose of the Jewish religion or the people who professed it and lived by it. And Christian writers, with more zeal than consistency, recognized the vitality of Judaism by efforts to convert the Jews. Strange indeed were the methods they adopted for this purpose, papal decrees, persecutions, *autos da fé*, public disputations, civil disabilities, and so on through the list of efforts of perverted statesmanship, which would be grotesque if it were not shameful. But the meaning of it all, or part of the meaning, was that Christianity owned with anger, fear and indignation and a certain perplexity, that Judaism was not dead nor likely to die, and that its continued presence in the midst of Christian society was a most unwelcome but most undeniable fact.

Moreover, even those Christian scholars who combined the usual scurrility of invective against the Jews with a not usual knowledge of what the Jewish writings contained, admitted in unguarded moments that there was something in those writings besides puerile fables and detestable blasphemies. Wagenseil expresses the wish that by the labors of well-trained scholars the nobler portions of the Rabbinical literature may be saved for Christian use. (Pref. to *Tela Ignea Satanae*, p. 99.) And no one could write more venomously against the Jews than Wagenseil, except it were Eisenmenger.

The Real Explanation of Christian Hostility

THE assertion, then, that Judaism came to an end with the rise of Christianity into power and prominence, is an assertion which even those who made it never really believed to be true. But, so far as I know, Christian writers who attacked and denounced Judaism nowhere set forth clearly the real ground of the hostility which they felt. They were never tired of accusing the Jews of blasphemy, on the ground that Jewish writings contained passages insulting to the founder of the Christian religion and impugning the chief doctrines of the church which claimed his authority. Also, on the ground that the Jewish people in the time of Jesus had been guilty of his death; and as that act could never be undone, so the guilt of it remained, from age to age. These were grounds sufficient when urged by a church which to this day has not learned what toleration means, to afford a pretext for unremitting hostility to the Jews, the branding of them as enemies of the human race. There was Christian warrant for this in the words of the Fourth Gospel, where Jesus is represented as saying to the Jews: "Ye are of your father the devil." (John VIII. 44.)

To the theological grounds were added the social grounds, based on the fact that the Jews were a race apart, and forgetful of the fact that it was partly Christian jealousy which kept them out of the general

Digitized by Google

stream of social and commercial and industrial life, and forced them into callings which Christians could safely denounce but could not dispense with. All these things are writ large over the history of Christian dealings with Jews, through all the centuries even down to our own. But they are rather the outcome of a deep-seated feeling than the reason of that feeling. For the feeling itself and the explanation of it, we must look to the theory of the medieval church. This theory was that God had appointed his church to be the sole means of salvation for all mankind, —"*nulla salus extra ecclesiam*,"—that as a society it was one and indivisible, allowing no divergence from its teaching, no difference of opinion as to its declared truths, no questioning of its authority. In regard to countries beyond its control the church could only assert its claim, and endeavor to make it good through the labors of its missionaries for the conversion of heathens and infidels. But in regard to Christian countries, i.e., countries where both rulers and people recognized the authority of the church, the presence of the Jewish people and the persistence of the Jewish religion were a continual offense because they gave the lie to the church's boast of unity, they made a steadfast protest against her claim to sovereign authority in matters of religion, they maintained a stubborn refusal to conform to her requirements, or rather her imperious demands. She had her ways of dealing with heretics, and employed them freely against the Jews. But though she counted her victims by thousands, she could not deal in that manner with a whole nation, scattered as it was over so many different lands. If she could have made an end of them, she probably would. But failing in that, she felt as an injury to her authority the uncompromising nonconformity of the Jews as a people, and she failed, century after century, to break down that resistance, compel those obdurate dissenters to reform.

Even the Protestants Were Intolerant

IT might have been expected that with the rise of Protestantism, which was a revolt from and rejection of the authority of the Catholic church, some better understanding of the Jewish position would have been learned, even some sympathy felt towards them, by those who had at last brought themselves to do what the Jews had done from the beginning. But it was not so, and for this reason—that Protestants no less than Catholics claimed to be the true expounders of Christianity, and the Jews were a witness against them both. The Protestants could not, indeed, make the same pretensions to undivided unity which the Catholic church made, but the Protestants had a new grievance of their own. If the Jews had refused to admit the authority of the church, they no less stubbornly refused to accept the Protestant interpretation of the Bible.

Digitized by Google

And no Protestant ingenuity could get over the awkward fact that the Hebrew scriptures formed an integral part of what Christians regard as the whole Bible, and that after all the Jews had the right of the original possessors to say what their own Scriptures meant. It suited Christians to claim that the Old Testament as well as the New belonged to them, that they were the true Israel and so forth. But they never forgot that the Israel living in their midst denied their claim, and disputed their interpretation. When the idea of toleration did come into Christian minds, it did so amongst Protestants certainly; but it was a long time in coming, and the Jews were the last to benefit by it. I do not forget that Holland afforded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a refuge for Jews, hunted from other countries; but theological hatred assailed them there, for Holland also was a Christian country. And the golden age for Judaism in Christian times was when the Jews flourished in Spain, under the protection not of Christian but of Mohammedan kings, who in this respect as in others were wiser than those who claimed to be the children of light.

So it was, therefore, that in the eyes alike of Protestants and of Catholics the presence of the Jewish people and the continuance of the Jewish religion was a standing offense because it was a persistent nonconformity, in times when nonconformity was regarded as a device of Satan.

Judaism the Savior of Christianity from Corruption

THE mere fact of nonconformity would still have been an offense, if it had been in regard to some trivial matter; but in the case of Judaism it concerned fundamental articles of Christian belief. The witness of the Jew has always been for unqualified monotheism, the Unity of God in the most complete and unconditional sense of the term. The monotheism of the orthodox Christian has always been a qualified monotheism. I know, as a Unitarian no less than a Jew is not likely to forget, that orthodox Christians always maintain that they hold to the strict unity of God. But when they proceed to teach that the one God is to be worshipped in three Persons (whatever that may mean), there is no getting away from the fact that such monotheism is very much qualified. It might even be truer to call it *dis*qualified monotheism. Whether the doctrine itself be true or false, a simple statement of divine reality as some hold it, or a curiously clumsy and roundabout way of stating what is meant, as others think,—the blunt refusal of Judaism to make any terms with the doctrine of the Trinity has always touched orthodox Christians on a sore point, and doubtless will continue to do so as long as orthodox Christianity continues to cling to that peculiar product of Greek specula-

Digitized by Google

tion. To uphold pure and undiluted monotheism has been a part, and no small part, of the witness borne by Judaism through the centuries; and who will say that there is not still need for that witness to be borne?

Possibly orthodox Christianity would say that; would deny that any good has come or ever will come from that persistent refusal to own the truth as she deems it. But orthodox Christianity might with advantage learn something in this connection from her own history, and consider two facts; first, that her founder and his first apostles were Jews, and that the Hebrew Scriptures were in the beginning the only sacred writings she had; and second, that a great deal of what is most characteristic in her theology was introduced from heathen sources, using the word heathen in no disparaging sense. The Christian teachers, if they did not consciously borrow from the mystery religions, were certainly influenced by them, and owed much to Greek philosophy and other Gentile influences. This may have been a good thing or it may not; as to that I say nothing. The fact can hardly be denied, and it serves to point the question, what would Christianity have become if it had not had the restraining influence of its Jewish origin and its Jewish Scriptures to keep within bounds its tendency to adopt foreign accretions?

It is conceivable that Christianity should have cut itself entirely loose from its Jewish connection, and who can tell, in that case, to what lengths it might have gone, in its readiness to assimilate what other religions had to offer? From any such fate the Christian Church has been saved, perhaps without her knowledge, perhaps against her will, certainly with little or no recognition of the fact, by her adoption of the Hebrew Scriptures as part of her own sacred books, and by the persistent reminder of Judaism that there was another side to the questions which she would fain have closed. The Hebrew Scriptures, as I have said on another occasion, have acted like salt to keep the Christian teaching from corruption; and the witness of Judaism has been a constant reminder that that salt has not lost its savour.

The Priceless Benefit of Jewish Liberty of Thought

IF these things are true, then the Church might well be grateful for what Judaism by its persistent witness has done for her. Perhaps that is too much to expect, as yet. But looking at the matter not now from the point of view of its bearing on Christianity, but in relation to the world at large, can it be doubted that it has been and is a substantial benefit to the human race that there should be, amongst its members, and especially its Christian members, this nonconformist nation, to represent liberty of thought, freedom of conscience, independence of judgment, the right of the human mind to settle for itself its relation with God?

Digitized by Google

Uniformity may be the dream of the Catholic, but it is not the pattern and standard for mankind. And they who were branded by the Roman writer as the enemies of the human race, have wrought for it through the centuries a priceless benefit.

That I take to be the substantial meaning of the persistence of Judaism, and that, if there were nothing else, would be enough to establish the first part of my case.

But there is more, by way of detailed service rendered by Judaism to the larger interests of mankind in general, and of Christianity in particular, and service which could not have been rendered if Judaism had not retained its vigor and vitality as a religion for men to live by and to die by.

How the Christian World Profited from Jewish Scholarship

WHO was it, if not the Jews, working along with the Arabian philosophers, who kept the lamp of knowledge alight in the darkest of the dark ages? Where did the Schoolmen get their Aristotle from except through the translations from the Arabic made by Jews? Until the revival of learning, the thought of Greece was only accessible to the western world through channels which were mainly Jewish. And while this transmission of knowledge was an invaluable gift to the learned in Christian countries, it is at the same time evidence of the vitality of Judaism. For no dead faith could breed thinkers and scholars such as those who are among the pride and glory of medieval Judaism. It would be easy to recite a list of great names in this connection, philosophers, scientists, poets, as evidence that the Judaism which produced them had vitality enough also to inspire them with noble ideals and lofty thoughts. Yet while it is true that the work of these men was a substantial contribution to the intellectual and moral and religious resources of the human race, I do not feel confident to estimate its effect upon specifically Christian thought.

In one respect, however, the debt of Christianity to Judaism, or rather to definite Jewish teaching, is beyond question. When Protestantism began its battle with the Catholic Church, one necessary consequence was the renewed study of the Scriptures; and for the thorough development of that study, a knowledge of Hebrew was indispensable. So there arose the great Christian Hebraists, beginning with Reuchlin, and including such names as the two Buxtorfs, Surenhusius, and many others. Their fame is great, and well deserved; but how little one hears by comparison of the men who made it possible for them to acquire such recondite learning! Who provided them with the Hebrew text of the Scriptures? Bomberg, no doubt, and Froben and others. But who set up the text

Digitized by Google

for Bomberg to print, and who corrected his proofs? What of the Jewish grammarians and lexicographers whose works were the unseen and often forgotten foundation upon which Buxtorf and Schoettgen and the rest reared their imposing piles of learning? They could have done nothing if it had not been for Jewish brains and Jewish industry; and Protestant theologians in their controversy with the Catholic Church would have fared much worse than they did, if they had not profited by the labors of Jews; of men moreover whom they were not ashamed to revile even while receiving their help. There is something revolting in the way in which the elder Buxtorf writes of Jews, although he had been admitted to their homes and their confidence, for the purpose of studying their manner of life in its minutest detail. Such treachery is without defense; but I am inclined to think it possible that the usual style of scurrilous abuse which defiles the Christian polemics of that age was partly, at all events, a concession to common practice, and was assumed only because no writer would have gained a hearing for his views unless he was careful to descend to the low level demanded by contemporary practice in matters of controversy.

Be this as it may, one thing is certain, viz., that the tone of the great Jewish writers in reference to Christianity was as different from that of their opponents as light from darkness. Criticism and dissent were of course to be found in Jewish writings, but not the execration which filled so many Christian pages. I do not forget the *Toldoth Jeshu;* but that was not the work of a great Jewish writer. And even in regard to the *Toldoth Jeshu,* if you read it in one of the two older editions, by Wagenseil and Huldreich, I think you will agree that the Christian notes and comments are more revolting, and show a greater moral depravity, than the Hebrew text.

Without a Living Judaism There Would Have Been No Great Jewish Intellects

THIS has been a slight digression, though indeed it helps the main subject. In general, and by way of summing up the first part of my case, I would say that wherever along the centuries the Jew has made his mark as a thinker, or a statesman, or a soldier, a philosopher, a poet, a scientist, or man of affairs or what not, the fact that he has done so is to be set down to the credit of the continuous vitality of the Judaism which produced him. And this remains true whatever attitude he himself may have taken up towards his ancestral faith, whether like Maimonides he dwelt among his own people and led them by "the Strong Hand," as "the Guide of the Perplexed," hailed by them as second only to his great namesake of old, or whether like Spinoza he went forth, or

Digitized by Google

was cast forth, and the spiritual home of his fathers knew him no more. Without a living Judaism there would have been no Spinoza; and I leave it to the philosophers to estimate the magnitude of that loss. And behind all the brilliant figures which have appeared upon the stage of history, of men and women of Jewish origin, there is the Judaism which was able to bring them forth; a strong and deep flowing current of faith and religious power, of unquenchable hope and unconquerable perseverance, pursuing its way across the centuries like the Nile and its sands, unfed by any tributary but trusting to its unfailing source, undeterred by the cataracts of persecution, unwasted by the barren deserts of neglect and scorn.

I trust I have sufficiently considered the fact of the continuous existence of Judaism, so as to show that great and important benefit has resulted from its presence and influence, that the human race in general and Christianity in particular would have been much the poorer if there had not been that presence and influence. If time had allowed, or rather if the subject of this lecture had been the general results of the presence and influence of the Jewish nation in the world, I would have dwelt longer on a theme where there is so much to be said. But I do not forget, though you may perhaps be thinking that I have forgotten, the question to which I am leading up, which is, "What does the world owe to the Pharisees?"

[*The concluding portion of Mr. Herford's lecture will appear in the next (August) issue of* THE MENORAH JOURNAL, *which will also contain a pleasant diversion or supplement to Mr. Herford's discussion, in the form of a "causerie" on "Some Pharisaic Delicacies" by the noted English scholar and man of letters, Dr. Israel Abrahams.*—EDS.]

Digitized by Google

The Jewish Contribution to Modern Social Ethics

By Charles W. Eliot

MODERN social ethics are after all only slight extensions of ethical doctrine contained in the Jewish sacred books. The first of the Ten Commandments contains the superb conception of the one God, a conception toward which the various Christian churches after many wanderings—pagan, metaphysical, and mythical—are at last returning.

One of the most scientifically determined of modern ethical standards is the rule that men and women had better work only six days out of seven. The wisdom of this rule has been demonstrated ethically, medically, and economically after much inquiry and much experience with regard to the best industrial use of the human body; but this new industrial doctrine is explicitly stated in the fourth Commandment, "Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work." We are so perfectly accustomed to this abstinence from labor one day out of the seven that we do not in the least understand how novel, and indeed preposterous, it seems to a Japanese, Chinese, or other Oriental who has had no knowledge of the Jewish and Christian dispensations. Baron Kikkawa, the first Japanese to take the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Harvard College, writes thus in his Autobiography: "I remember one Sunday, I went out in the yard (at the house of Rev. Charles Nathaniel Folsom of Concord)

CHARLES W. ELIOT, President Emeritus of Harvard University, whose ideas have been stamped so indelibly on the educational system of this country, has repeatedly paid tribute to the wholesome influence of Jewish ideals in modern civilization. Dr. Eliot welcomed warmly the founding of the first Menorah Society at Harvard, and has graced a number of its meetings and dinners by his presence. Previous contributions from Dr. Eliot have appeared in the June, 1915, and February, 1918, numbers of The Menorah Journal. The accompanying paper was delivered at a meeting of the Harvard Menorah Society and revised by its author for publication in The Menorah Journal.

Digitized by Google

and was playing ball, when Mrs. Folsom, a most gentle and kindly person, ran out of the house and scolded me (the only time she ever did so). I did not then understand the meaning of Sabbath, and I was completely bewildered; but to her eyes my act was a most grievous sin." Kikkawa was at that time twelve years old. He was not then a Christian, and never became one.

The Strength of Jewish Family Sentiment

AN immense contribution made to modern social ethics by the Jewish people is their conception of family life, all of which is founded on the fifth Commandment, "Honor thy father and thy mother." The family has been the stronghold of Jewish racial purity, religious duty, and religious sentiment. When George Washington was trying to get a large tract of land which he held on the Kanawha River settled by men from Virginia, the exhortation he addressed to his young tenants came straight out of Genesis, "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth."

As President of Harvard College I had many opportunities of comparing the strength of the Jewish family sentiment with the Christian. In forty years I never knew a case in which a Jewish family failed to come to the assistance of a son taken seriously ill at Harvard College; while I witnessed many an instance in which a Christian father and mother came reluctantly, or not at all, even when I repeatedly urged their coming. This observation I made on all kinds of Jewish families, the very rich, the very poor, and those in moderate circumstances. It made no difference to the Jewish fathers and mothers, brothers, and sisters, whether the case was one of dangerous contagious disease or not; they came to the sufferer's side.

After a somewhat long life in which I have seen many family interiors in many lands, the strong impression on my mind is that the home pictures to which I look back as sweetest, tenderest, most loyal towards parents and most reverential towards God, are pictures of Jewish homes. This result must be attributable to the peculiar ethical conceptions which are the foundation of Jewish family life.

The Participation of Children in Religious Festivals

THE love of children and the delight of the elders in the happiness of the children are characteristic Jewish qualities. In their religious festivals, such as the Passover, or the Feast of Tabernacles, the children invariably participate, and the observances are such as children can take happy part in. There are special foods for each great festival, and out-of-door observances in which children take eager part. Christian families

Digitized by Google

have imitated these Jewish practices to great advantage; so that we have squash pies, mince pies, and cranberry sauce at Thanksgiving, turkey, plum pudding, nuts and raisins at Christmas, hot cross buns on Good Friday, and eggs at Easter, mainly for the delight of the children. The Jewish candle on the altar is multiplied on the Christmas tree.

Again, practical benevolence, bringing relief to suffering, was one of the pillars of the Synagogue from earliest times, and has only been taken over from the Synagogue into the Christian churches. Even the ministrations to the "silent poor," which is one of the benevolent activities of many Christian churches today, is of Jewish origin. And today the great Jewish charities are better managed than the Christian.

Keeping Alive the Yearning for Education

BUT the great service which the Jewish race has rendered to the rest of the world, not only in its early centuries but all through the dark times of the Middle Ages and its centuries of persecution, has been the keeping alive of a learned class and a great literature—the greatest of all literatures till within comparatively recent years. For centuries before the Christian era the Jewish people had been in possession of a literature embodied in writing which was of the noblest quality. It comprehended history, biography, chronicles, laws, songs sacred and profane, prophecies, visions, and innumerable rules and maxims on the conduct of earthly life. The three first verses in Genesis in the King James version are the most superb sentences in the English language. The Book of Job is unsurpassable as literature. The 19th Psalm is the most magnificent of sacred songs. The 150th Psalm is the most glorious ascription of praise to God ever written. Because they had this literature the Jews were able to keep alive the tradition of education in family and community; and today the Jewish families are the most eager in any community to profit by all provisions made for public education. It was not till the Protestant Reformation that any corresponding desire for education on the part of Christian families began to find expression in public action.

The Jewish contributions, then, to modern social ethics, and particularly to the ethics of Democracy, have been great indeed. How the Democracies are going to acknowledge their obligations and show their gratitude by deeds is not yet plain.

Charles W. Eliot

Digitized by Google

Shir Ha-Shirim

By Martin Feinstein

LEST I confound the pattern of thy ways,
And weave vainglorious threads into the maze
Of thy mute plan, O thou my silent soul,
Reach out with sudden glory and unroll
The portals of thy subterranean room,
Where fate spins cosmic-shadows at her loom.

Thy gift is like the shining of a star,
Resolute and bright, ever at war
With utter darkness; in the disconsolate night
I lift my face to thy eternal light,
And lo, there is no darkness, only my soul
Pointing the way through all despair and dole.

O thou my dream of dreams, what mighty things
Move within thy compass! What occasion brings
Such solemn pageantry within the space
Of instant adoration! The planets race
Beside thee, while the wings of heaven fan
Allegiance to the sovereign soul of man.

O thou my song of songs, O clear and sweet
I catch the echo of thy passing feet,
Scarce sound or silence, till the last note falls
Like music in a dream of high-domed halls,
Into the outer margin of the night,
Drumming a far-off rhythm in thy flight.

Now thou art lost among the starry crowd
That guard the gates of heaven, their most proud
And radiant captain. Now the night-mists rise
Like ghostly banns between my paradise
And my strong rapture. Now the long hours creep
Past me, crooning their monotone of sleep.

Where is my vision gone? Whither my dream?
How shall these upward-whirling wings redeem
The ponderous inertness of those days
And many morrows yet to come? Time slays

Digitized by Google

Austere proposals with forgetfulness
Of ultimate design; and mine no less.

There are three merchants in the marketplace
With curious goods; the first dispenses lace
Of such rare fabric that the very folds
And pattern are invisible; he holds
The airy bargain in his hands and cries:
"O, rare old laces for sale! Who buys? Who buys?"

There is another in this strage bazaar,
Who claps his hands and calls: "Gentles, here are
The finest jewels and royal diadem.
Gather ye round, good folk, and look at them!"
These stare and stare,—no jewels do they see,
Only the sunbeams dancing merrily.

There is a third, whose parry, thrust, and cut
Lack only the index of a sword. "Nay, but,"
He cries, "a sharp bride for a clever lad!
No keener blade than this is to be had
In all the forgeries of Damask town.
Whose is the mind to take her for his own?"

And round about the crowd grins stupidly,
Half credulous that in this hoax might be
Some miracle, some Merlin transmutation
Of air, through secret conversation
With slant-eyed pixies or bearded genii;
So none dare damn the thing a knavish lie.

Not in the marketplace of mountebanks,
Not in rich booths of sanctimonious pranks
Where clever preachers juggle men's needs, and hawk
Splendid illusions puffed with sounding talk,
Shall my rapt ear catch the solemn roll
And lofty panharmonia of my soul.

Ah, no, not there, but in the lonely places,
Upon some broken hill, whose scarred brow faces
Emotionless, with imperturbable pride,
The malice of the thunder-kings that ride
The horses of the storm. Ah, there shall I find
The echo of thy voice upon the wind!

Martin Feinstein

Digitized by Google

Religion and Nationality

By Leon Simon

Leon Simon, born in Southampton, England, 1881; graduated from Balliol College, Oxford; since 1904 in the English Civil Service. He is a leader among the younger Jewish intellectual forces in England, and has done much, both by his writings and by the editing of various periodicals and books ("Aspects of the Hebrew Genius," "Zionism and the Jewish Future"), towards the spread of clear ideas about Jewish life and problems. He is notable also for introducing Ahad Ha-'Am to English readers, by the translations of his Essays. Mr. Simon is a prominent Zionist leader, and was a member of the Zionist Commission to Palestine last year.

THE term "religion," as used of a modern man or group of men, normally implies belief in a universal God. It implies, of course, many things besides. The religious man is supposed to stand in a particular emotional relation to God, and to have his life influenced profoundly by that relation. But at any rate the religious man in the modern world—by which we generally mean the Western world—is not thought of as possibly believing in a stock or a stone or a tribal deity. We assume as a matter of course that, though different groups of religious men may worship in different ways, the supernatural power of which religion postulates the existence is a universal God.

When, therefore, we speak of the "religion" not of a modern man or nation but of a primitive tribe, we are using the word "religion" loosely, almost metaphorically. For primitive man, generally speaking, has no conception of a universal God. Each tribe has a god of its own, who belongs to the tribe just as much as the tribe belongs to him, and is at war with other gods just as his tribe is at war with other tribes. With this tribal god a certain cult is associated, and the individual is born into this cult, and adopts it just as naturally and inevitably as he adopts the language, customs and habits of his tribe. Thus his "religion" is simply an element in what we might call—using again a term which strictly does not apply to primitive conditions—his "nationality." It is just one of the factors that go to form his group-consciousness, his sense of community of life and interests with the other members of the same tribe; and, like the other factors of that group-consciousness, it is exclusive—it marks him off, no less than his language or his loyalty does, from the members of another tribe. It is quite different from religion in the modern sense, which is essentially inclusive in its aim; for, theoretically at least, a universal God, just

Digitized by Google

because he is universal, claims the adhesion of all, and belief in him takes the individual beyond his exclusive national group into communion with the whole of mankind.

How Religion and Nationality Gradually Fall Apart

THE primitive tribe, then, is at a stage of existence in which our modern distinction between religion and nationality has no place. But if, as is usually the case, the ideas of the primitive tribe about its god and about the "other world" in general are crude and childish, the elements of its group-consciousness, at first indistinguishably fused, will in course of time fall apart, and religion and nationality will become separate and even antagonistic things.

The struggle of a group of human beings for existence and growth cannot be carried on successfully unless it advances beyond the primitive stage in knowledge and power over nature. If it is to develop at all, in face of hostile forces both natural and human, it must improve its material equipment and organization. It must build houses, devise weapons, invent machines, work out a language and a system of education, if it is to go ahead in the struggle. It must, in a word, become what we call civilized. But it is not equally constrained to become what we call religious—to rise from primitive tribal superstition to a conception of the universal God. It can fight nature and other human groups, and become more or less civilized in the process, without necessarily transforming the crude cult into a religion worthy of the name.

But if that does in fact happen—if the tribe advances some distance along the road to organized and self-conscious nationhood, while its "religious" ideas remain backward—then nationality and religion will become separate, and not only separate, but antagonistic. For the development of the tribe in equipment and organization cannot be a purely material development. It is bound to react on thought, to produce moral values and standards of conduct; and these spiritual products of the material growth will not square with ideas about the supernatural and the other world which are a mere survival from an earlier stage of development. Unless, therefore, such "religious" ideas are capable of adaptation to the conditions of a more advanced material civilization, and are in fact adapted to those conditions naturally and insensibly, in that same process of national growth in which all social institutions are adapted to new ideas and demands, they must become anomalies, must cease to stand in any organic relation to the rest of the national life. Religion will thus become a distinct thing, concerned only with one department of human life, and incapable, because it is out of date, of moulding the national growth.

Digitized by Google

The Clash Between Primitive Religion and Advancing Nationality

BUT religion cannot always remain out of date. If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain. If outworn religious ideas cannot stay the progress of civilization, they must give place to others with which civilization can feel at home. The transition must be made in some way from the tribal to the universal God, because the more developed outlook of civilized man demands a universal God. We see this process going on in Greek literature, as the result of a philosophic development which had its origin in independent scientific thought. The absurd Zeus of Homer—a Zeus who co-existed with a high degree of civilization and a well-marked national feeling—is transformed by Æschylus into an omnipotent moral force; but traces of earlier ideas are still abundantly present, and the wider developments of the conception of a universal God do not appear. Plato goes a good deal further: with him the old cosmogony is swept away, ὁ θεός (God) is more or less identified with the Idea of Good, and we get an intelligible presentation of the universe as an ordered scheme based on justice—a presentation which, however rationalistic in method, is intensely religious in spirit.

But these developments of Greek religion were the work of individual poets or thinkers, and seem to have had but little effect on the religious life of the people as a whole. The primitive "religious" ideas did not die out, but survived into a period of highly organized and civilized national life, in which, as it seems to us, they were wholly out of place. We see the clash between the new and the old most clearly in the execution of Socrates for his alleged belief in "new gods," which was supposed to be dangerous to the State. What Socrates really believed in was a highly developed morality with a universalistic basis; and his execution was due to the sure instinct of a people in whose group-consciousness the crude "religious" ideas of a primitive tribe still played a part, so that it was felt that to lay emphasis on the universality of the moral principle was to endanger the national cohesion. Plato, it is true, was able to work out something like a universalistic religion without falling foul of Greek (or Athenian) national sentiment: but that is because Plato's life fell in the twilight-period of Greek nationalism, and the conflict was no longer keenly felt. So long as the national sentiment of the City-State was strong, there could be no room in Greek life for a universalistic religion, because a universalistic religion, if its development has not proceeded hand-in-hand with that of the other elements of the national life, is bound to be no less discordant and out of place in a well-knit national organization than is a crude and primitive set of ideas about the supernatural. Just because it is so highly developed, just because it postulates

Digitized by Google

a universal God and implicitly a universal brotherhood of man, it is bound to be in conflict with the essentially exclusive sentiment of nationality.

To Avoid the Conflict, Religion Must Leave National Affairs Alone

WHEN, therefore, a universalistic religion is imported from without into a national life which has not developed its own primitive cult into a universal religion, open conflict between the demands of religion and those of nationality can be avoided only in one way. Religion must endeavor to leave this present world alone, and to devote its attention wholly to the next. It must become, so far as possible, identical with "other-worldliness." In order to avoid infringing on the domain of nationality, it must strive to make the cure of individual souls its only business, and must avoid having any message for the nation in its corporate capacity. The most highly religious men will then be those who withdraw themselves altogether from this world of materialism, and fit themselves for a better life by prayer and fasting, or else come into this world only to endeavor to save the souls of others by turning them away from the follies and vanities of human life. There will be a rigid distinction between things sacred and things profane, between religious and secular, between the things that are God's and the things that are Caesar's. On such terms religion can find for itself a place in life, at the expense of cutting itself off from life as far as possible. It can avoid hampering the development of national civilization and culture by concerning itself only with the soul of the individual.

But this complete divorce of religion from the national life cannot continue long in practice. The great majority of men are not going to renounce this life for the sake of the next, and religion cannot, therefore, achieve even its avowed object of saving souls without teaching men a rule of life which will enable them to live in this world without forfeiting the other. Religion, in a word, cannot get on without morality. But, as we have seen, the material development of life also produces moral ideas and standards of conduct. A society of human beings necessarily works out a code of right and wrong in the process of consolidating itself and maintaining itself against its enemies; it may have a relatively developed morality before it has a religion (that is, of course, a religion postulating a universal God). Morality, then, is involved in nationality no less than in religion. And when the religion has not been developed in harmony with the national life, its morality may be different from, and in conflict with, the national morality. In fact, there is bound to be a conflict between the two: for a purely national morality will judge everything from the point of view of the well-being of the nation, whereas

Digitized by Google

a universalistic religion cares nothing for this nation or that. So the success and progress of the nation will depend in some degree on the extent to which it can force religion, despite its universalistic character, to fit into the national mould and serve national ends. And this Procrustes treatment will not be good for religion.

How Christian Ideals Are Thrust Aside by National Ideals

THIS conflict between religion and nationality has played its part in the history of modern European nations. It manifests itself not only in open struggles between State and Church, but even more in a war which goes on continually and is not marked by pitched battles—a war between a conception of life derived from Christianity and one which is an expression of the national character and a result of the national history of the nation in question. For the institutions and the morality of European nations have their roots in a period earlier than the advent of Christianity, having been developed in the struggle of those nations for existence and growth; and the religious change from paganism to Christianity was not brought about as part of the same process. The transition from belief in Odin and Thor to belief in the universal God was not an evolution, but a revolution. The beliefs and practices of Christianity came to the nations of Europe not as a natural and spontaneous growth from within, but as a ready-made scheme of salvation from without; and the national life in which Christianity had first crystallized into being was very different from the national life of the peoples of Europe, reflecting a national character and outlook not only different from theirs, but in many ways fundamentally opposed to it.

Now Christianity, thus brought to the nations of Europe from outside, has no doubt influenced the institutions and the morality of the Englishman, the Frenchman, and the German; but it has not removed the differences of national outlook or put an end to a most un-Christian rivalry between nations nominally subject to the sway of the same religious idea. There may be individual members of the different nations in whose thought and conduct a conception of life derived from specifically Christian teaching is dominant; but there are well-marked differences between English morality and French and German, and of none of these nations can it be said that its morality is in any real sense Christian morality. There is little evidence, either in the national life or in international relations, of the influence of that extreme altruism, that insistence on meekness and self-abnegation, which is characteristic of the teaching of Jesus. The levelling and universalizing influence of a common creed weighs surprisingly little against the differences of

Digitized by Google

national character and national interests.* Moral ideas, among educated men especially, tend to be dominated by the scientific conception of evolution, which has been worked out and applied to the various departments of life in defiance of the Church; and in so far as there is a tendency towards universal brotherhood, that tendency seems to be fostered more by the march of science and the economic teachings of Socialism than by the preaching of the Church. Indeed, the Church seems at times to be only too ready to meet the claims of nationality when they are at variance with its own principles; for instance, it will on occasion cheerfully make itself a party to a war of aggression. In other cases there is a visible conflict between national and Christian ideals, and the national demand gradually gains the upper hand. Take, for instance, the question of the way in which Sunday should be observed, or the question of divorce law, in which the sentiment of modern nations turns more and more against Christian teaching, and the Church makes an unavailing effort to stem the tide.

Even the Bible Has Become Purely a Religious Book

IT is no doubt true that the influence of the Church does not necessarily mean the same thing as the influence of Christianity. The Bible was brought by Christianity to the nations of Europe; and the Bible is there once for all, and theoretically it might serve as a source of spiritual and moral influence in the life of the individual, and hence to some extent in the national life, for countless generations, even if the Church should cease to exist. But in practice the Bible has little chance of exerting any influence apart from the Church. Imported into Europe by the Church, it remains the Church's property; it remains a religious as distinct from a national book. Hence in the conflict between religion and nationality the Bible inevitably stands or falls with the Church. The secularist wishes to exclude from schools not only the minister of religion, but also the Bible. Thus the Bible, though translated into every language read by every people, cannot be in the fullest sense a part of the national literature of a modern European nation. As the struggle between the "religious" and the "secular" spirit develops, the Bible becomes more and more the property and the weapon of one section, and it may be of a losing section. This is perhaps the most deplorable result of the fact that the national traditions and the religion of modern European nations spring from two different sources. Nobody who looked at the Bible as a piece of literature, without any prepossession for or

* This essay was written before the War. I refrain of set purpose from enforcing what is said above by reference to events of the War period.

Digitized by Google

against religious dogmas, could dispute its right, or at least the right of some parts of it (for the Bible is not one book), to a place in the educational curriculum of a civilized society. But if the Bible is to be taught only as a part of religion, and if the influence of religion as such tends to be overshadowed by influences arising directly out of the growth of the national life, the Bible cannot have that place in the scheme of national education to which its literary and moral value entitles it.

It is in its relation to the Bible that the Jewish people differs most obviously from the peoples of modern Europe. The difference may be summed up thus: whereas for the modern European the Bible, being a religious book, is not a national book, for the Jew the Bible is a religious book because it is a national book, or rather because it is *the* national book.

But to the Jews the Bible is Both a Religious and a National Book

THAT the Old Testament is a religious book for us Jews goes, of course, without saying. It enshrines for our people the truth about God and his relation to the universe; it is the source of the religious dogmas of Judaism. But the Bible and its religion did not come to us ready made, from without; the universal God did not come as a stranger to oust the tribal god from his place. The transition from the more primitive to the more developed form of religion was a natural evolution, forming an organic part of the national growth, and determined by the same conditions which determined the progress of the nation on what could be called in modern phraseology its non-religious side. It was not the abandonment of a lower for a higher form of belief, under the influence of preachers who had attained the higher belief elsewhere, but the gradual adaptation to new national needs of those ideas about the tribal god which the people entertained so soon as it had a collective consciousness at all, while it was still in that early stage of development which lies behind the conceptions of religion and nationality. For this reason the Jews never needed to reach the stage at which religion and nationality can be, or rather have to be, distinguished as two separate and antagonistic forces. And the Bible, which is their religious book, is so not because it set out specifically to give them religious truth, but because it is a record of their national growth, and that national growth is inseparable from their religious growth.

(To be concluded)

Digitized by Google

The Palestine Land Program

By Bernard A. Rosenblatt

[Editors' Note.—*In a letter accompanying this article, Mr. Rosenblatt writes: "This is the original proposition, as I presented it to the Zionist leaders of the London Conference, and as a result of which we succeeded in inserting in the mandate for Great Britain as Trustee of Palestine, a provision to the effect that the increased land values from and after August 1, 1914, be the property of the Palestinian Government, and not of individual land owners. It is provided that this increase of value shall inure for the benefit of the entire public of Palestine through a system of annual taxation or otherwise —the word otherwise being put in, in order to cover any other contingency, like the purchase of land at the pre-war value.*

"I feel that in view of the fact that this program is now accepted, I can make public the argument upon which the proposition was based. I have not used it publicly anywhere else, and I feel that The Menorah Journal is the proper medium for a discussion of such an important fact in respect to Palestine development."]

ZIONISM has been transformed from a beautiful dream of the Ghetto into a living reality wherein facts and figures must be considered, analyzed, and interpreted. We are actually building the House of Israel, and while we shall follow closely the plans of our chief architect, Dr. Herzl, we must remember that we are now grappling with land and stones and bricks, and not merely with public opinion and legal arguments. In order to be true to Herzl and ourselves, it behooves us to supplement the political work of our journalists and statesmen by the economic work of our business men and laborers.

There is one fundamental fact in the upbuilding of the Jewish Commonwealth in Zion which may make or mar all our plans. I refer to the land problem. It has been estimated that only two per cent. of the area of Palestine is in Jewish hands, and even this small percentage of the land of Palestine is held by less than five per cent. of the Jewish inhabitants in the land of our forefathers. In other words, not only have we a long way to travel in order to redeem the soil of Palestine, but unless we change our methods, we are in great danger of permitting the other lands that we may acquire to fall into the hands of a very small group of our own

Bernard A. Rosenblatt, born in Russia in 1886; educated in Philadelphia public schools and at Columbia (A.B., LL.B.). He is now practising law in New York. For years he has taken an active and prominent share in Zionist activity, first as national Secretary, and more recently as organiser and President of the Zion Commonwealth of America, created to assist the economic development of Palestine. He attended the Peace Conference to help in framing the mandate for Palestine, and his plan of taxation described in this article has been accepted by the British Government. He recently sailed for Palestine to assist in inaugurating this land program.

Digitized by Google

people, who, by such ownership, may dominate the life of the Jewish Palestine of the future.

Land Values in Palestine Will Increase Enormously

PALESTINE is now on the threshold of a new age. Land values will increase enormously with the freedom that will come upon the exit of the Turk and the entrance of Great Britain as the trustee of the Jewish Commonwealth. It is altogether probable that within our lifetime, Haifa, as the Mediterranean terminus of the Bagdad Railway, will be a city with a population of half a million; that Jerusalem, as the capital of a prosperous state, will have a like number of inhabitants, and that Jaffa, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron will be important cities, helping to swell the urban population of Palestine to over two millions. The agricultural and dairy products for such a population must come, to a large extent, from the truck farms and agricultural settlements of Palestine itself.

If this picture presents the possibilities of the near future—and I do not believe it is overdrawn—there will be an increase in the land values of the cities and farms of Palestine that will be measured in the tens of millions. While we will be busily engaged in gathering money for the Jewish National Fund, and while we may be accumulating at the rate of three million dollars per annum for a Palestine Restoration Fund, the increase of the land values in the hands of a small group of Jews and non-Jews may amount to ten or twenty millions of dollars per annum. Several weeks ago I addressed a Zionist audience in the City of Boston, and after I explained the evils of land speculation and how we propose to overcome it, one of the successful business men who was present told me that I had spoiled all his plans, for he had come to the conclusion several months ago that the best investment for him would be the purchase of land in Haifa, particularly near the harbor, and that he had expected to settle in Palestine as a real estate investor (another name for a land speculator) as soon as he could get his passport.

Who Should Get the Benefit of This Increase?

NOW I submit that in all justice and fairness this increase in land values should not go to a visitor from Boston, just because he may happen to have the money and the shrewdness which may enable him to get title to valuable plots of land; nor should the benefits go to any present-day landlord, who will have done nothing to make his land more valuable and who may be—as in many cases, such landlords really are—the residents of Beyrout, Cairo, and other cities outside of Palestine.

Digitized by Google

This increase in land values will be due to two factors, and to these two factors alone: (1) the conquest of Palestine by General Allenby, in which the Jewish Legion participated; and (2) the future Jewish mass immigration to Palestine. The landowners of Palestine have done nothing to increase the value of their lands since August 1, 1914—since the outbreak of the Great War. They have not invited General Allenby to come to Palestine, and they have done nothing to make possible the future Jewish immigration to the Holy land. They are simply in the fortunate position of being able to take advantage of these great events, *if we permit the law to remain as it has been.* On behalf of the Zionist Organization of America, I have, therefore, proposed that while all land values shall be protected and safeguarded, as they existed at the outbreak of the Great War, on *August 1, 1914*, all the subsequent increase in land values shall be apportioned among those to whom the credit for this increase will really be due, i.e., the people of Palestine, present and future.

This fixed price of August 1, 1914, is an eminently fair and proper one, because it represents the best values that Palestinian lands ever had, at any time, even up to the present day.

Since we cannot very well distribute the benefits of this increase of land values to those who are actually responsible—to the army of General Allenby and to the Jewish immigrants who will flock to Palestine—we must do the next best thing, namely, allow the government of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, under the trusteeship of Great Britain, to collect annually, in the shape of taxation, the rent equivalent of that increase in the land values, which will be due not to improvements but solely to the increase in population, wealth and government protection.

The Evil—and the Simple Remedy

IN order to understand the full effects of such a system of taxation, let us examine the picture that Palestine might present to us if we fail to adopt land value taxation. Present-day landowners of Palestine, who in the main have done little to develop the country, would reap a golden harvest from the establishment of the new government; and with the influx of Jews, land values would go sky-high, so that every Jew who will migrate to Palestine from Russia, Roumania, or America—a pioneer in the Jewish Renaissance—will be compelled to purchase lands at inflated values or to pay exorbitant rents, thereby insuring the development of a class of absentee Palestinian landlords, who would be spending their incomes (obtained from Palestinian workers) and idling their time in the luxurious capitals of the world. In effect, our inactivity will amount to the enactment of a law for the restriction of Jewish immigration into

Digitized by Google

Palestine, since we will make it difficult for poor Jews to secure land or living quarters on fair terms. Now there is no reason why we should pour wealth into the hands of those who happen to hold title to the lands of Palestine, when the increased value will be due not to labor on the part of the landlords, but to the new government which Zionists will have established. Furthermore, since the government must have taxes to support it, we will be confronted with the alternative of taking these taxes from the land values which it creates, or utilizing other methods of taxation (like taxes on sugar, coffee, tea, customs duties, and the like). In the latter case, we may appreciate the consequent injustice if we realize that the working men and women will have to carry the burden of government, in addition to their payment for the increased land values which they and their government will make possible.

On the other hand, if taxation be raised from the socially created land values, no one will be disturbed in the possession of their lands but *all landowners will pay taxes, annually, equivalent to the annual rental upon the increased land values (exclusive of buildings and improvements) since August 1, 1914.* This is only another way of saying that the money secured through increased land values will be utilized for the equal benefit of all (in the shape of police protection, schools, recreation centres, municipal theatres, etc.), instead of being diverted for the exclusive benefit of a landlord class.

A Program of Justice and Political Wisdom

NOR is this a matter which is the exclusive concern of the Jewish people. It is an act of justice towards the non-Jewish population of Palestine, of whom over eighty per cent. have no lands of their own but are the tenants of an Arab landlord class. If we permit matters to remain as at present, the eighty per cent. of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine who are not landowners will curse the Jewish immigration into Palestine, which will automatically force upwards rents and land values. Every Jew who will enter Palestine will be an unwilling agent in raising the rents of these poor peasants, since an increase in population and wealth necessarily increases land values. As a measure of justice to these new brethren of ours—the non-Jewish population of Palestine —the vast majority of whom are tenants, we must pass such a land protective tariff on their behalf, whereby the increase in land values will go through taxation into the State Treasury (in which each has an equal share) instead of into the pockets of the landlords. As a political measure that will prevent unhappy disputes between Jew and non-Jew, such an economic program is imperative.

This proposed law for the taxation of land values is not the scheme

Digitized by Google

of a wild-eyed radical, but has its roots in good old Anglo-Saxon law. I refer not merely to the Lloyd George Budget adopted in England in 1910, but also to the well-known English and American legal principle with which every lawyer is familiar,—known as the principle of assessments for benefits received. For example, in the City of New York, whenever a boulevard is laid out in a new district, it is customary to assess all the neighboring lands in order to defray a part or all of the cost of the boulevard, on the theory that the district has been benefited to large extent and the owners ought to pay for the benefits which accrue to their lands. We shall invoke this old established principle, and charge against all the land of Palestine the benefits received through the victories of General Allenby (through the blood of the English soldiers and their brethren in the Jewish Legion) and the Jewish immigration, which the Zionist Organization will inaugurate. We shall announce that since this increase in land values will be due solely to the conviction that under British Trusteeship life and property will be safeguarded, while the Jewish development of the country grows apace, this increased value is the direct benefit conferred by the new government in Palestine. Therefore, in logic and justice, this increase in values should be appropriated by the government in the shape of a *special land value tax.*

To achieve such a program of just taxation, the Commission which is to administer Palestine should be given the right, expressly, to assess and value all the plots of land in Palestine as of August 1, 1914 (immediately before the Great War). The Palestine Commission, and thereafter its successor, the Government of Palestine, would then proceed to impose an annual land value tax upon all the plots of land under its control, whereby this excess social value, which might have been added to such land since August 1, 1914 (exclusive, of course, of all improvements and buildings made by the landlord or tenant) will go into the public treasury. This would result in giving to the Government the values which society itself (as distinguished from the individual landowner) is creating from day to day, while reserving the rights of the landowners to the values which they held in the best days that Palestine has known in modern times (immediately before the Great War). Such a system would eliminate land taxation, since all unearned excess values would go to the Commonwealth instead of into the pockets of land speculators.

"What Might Have Been"—New York as an Example

PERHAPS the full significance of this proposition may be appreciated when we consider a conspicuous case of "what might have been." The rocky Island of Manhattan is the most valuable portion of the City

Digitized by Google

of New York, the raw land alone (exclusive of any buildings or improvements, which are separately assessed) being valued at nearly four billion dollars. Three hundred years ago this island was purchased from the Indians for trinkets worth twenty-four dollars. If the early Dutch settlers had realized the importance of holding legal title (as public property) to the land of this island, the City of New York would be today an enormously rich landlord, and the benefits from the rents would be shared equally by all the inhabitants. It has been estimated that by simply reserving the ownership of the land values of Manhattan (not including Brooklyn or the other boroughs), the City of New York, without any extra effort on its part, would receive such a large annual income from ground rents that it would be able to distribute a bonus of nearly four dollars a week to every family in the City of New York—simply as compensation for residing in such an overcrowded city. This public income would enable us not only to abolish poverty, by guaranteeing a living wage to all those who are willing to work, but also to increase our educational, art, and cultural facilities to a point where we might truly realize the "City Beautiful."

It is perhaps a hopeless task to revoke the mistakes of the past, but we may profit from such mistakes. We are now almost at the point of building our Commonwealth, even as the Dutch settlers of New York. There is no large vested landlord interest in Palestine which could successfully oppose our efforts, and we must so adjust matters as to prevent the growth of any landlord class in the future. Herzl, in his "Judenstaat," points out that we are the heirs of the ages, and that it is our duty to build our State in harmony with the best thought and the ripest experience in the world. Unless we can produce a worthy successor to the first Hebrew Commonwealth, which gave us the Prophets, and the second Hebrew Commonwealth, which gave us the Maccabaean period and gave Christianity to the world, some of our most earnest Zionists may question the value of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

A Menace to the Entire Palestinian Enterprise

BUT the demand for a just system of taxation may be based not on any high claims of what the Jew may offer to the world—although I hold strongly to the view that Palestine will have something of great value to give to humanity—but rather upon the modest basis of simple justice and political expediency. I am bold to say that without such a system of taxation, which will give to the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine the income from the increased land values, we *cannot re-establish the Jewish nation on its ancestral soil.* We would be reduced to the expedient of simply buying land from time to time upon which to settle

Digitized by Google

Jewish colonists. Every new settlement would cause an immediate increase in the value of all the neighboring lands, so that every new Jewish colony would make it more difficult and more expensive to acquire additional land for the purpose of establishing subsequent settlements. If at the time that the Jewish National Fund was organized, we had been able to invent some machinery whereby the land values of Palestine would not increase in value while the Fund was being accumulated, this institution would be today the symbol of the Jewish national revival. It has been restricted in its endeavors through no fault of its own, so that while we have gathered less than two million dollars for the avowed purpose of redeeming the land of Israel, this very land has risen in value to an extent many times the entire amount of the fund which we have collected. And unless we speedily find some method whereby land values will not increase while we are busily engaged in the task of finding the funds necessary for land purchase, we shall soon discover that we are putting our money into a pocket with a hole in it—that we are gathering our funds for land purchase, ostensibly for the Jewish Redemption of the land of Palestine, but actually as the collecting agency for the landlords of Palestine, Jewish and non-Jewish, who will be able to ask higher prices for the remaining lands after each purchase that we shall make.

The Zionists of America have recently endorsed the program of the Zion Commonwealth which aims to purchase land in Palestine for individual Jews, on a basis whereby the national interests of the Jewish people are protected. Yet both the Jewish National Fund and the Zion Commonwealth, as well as all other land purchasing agencies, if they are to prove effective, must rest upon the basis of a taxation plan which will prevent increase in land values while the funds are being collected and while the colonies are being planted. Otherwise, every piece of work in Palestine will make it more difficult for us to acquire the remainder of the land, and we shall pay a penalty for every improvement that we make.

The Zionists of America, in Convention assembled in the city of Pittsburgh, in June, 1918, unanimously adopted the principles of land nationalization. We shall never nationalize the land unless we adopt a program which will prevent its increasing in value while we are redeeming it step by step.

The Advantages of Land Value Taxation

ON the other hand, if we adopt the principle of land value taxation, it follows, as a corollary, that the excess land values beyond that of August 1, 1914, will virtually be owned by the State. We shall, therefore, have *land nationalization* outright of all the land values beyond a reserved minimum, which we may regard as a first mortgage in the hands of the present day landlords. It is obvious that whenever the Jewish Common-

Digitized by Google

wealth finds it necessary or proper to secure possession of certain plots of land (by the exercise of its power of eminent domain, or through purchase by the Jewish National Fund and the Zion Commonwealth) *it will have a fixed price which it will pay to all landowners* (besides, of course, payment for buildings and improvements), namely, *the value of the land as assessed of the date of August* 1, 1914.

The plan was first put forth in the Zion Commonwealth Bulletin of January, 1918, or less than two months after the Balfour Declaration with respect to Palestine. During the last year it has received the endorsement not only of the Zionist Organization of America (which impliedly sanctioned the plan through the adoption of the policy of land nationalization) but also the unqualified endorsement of the Mizrachi Organization of America, and the approval of many prominent Zionists, including Professor David W. Amram, Jacob de Haas, Professor Felix Frankfurter, Horace M. Kallen and Mrs. Mary Fels. It is in harmony with the words of the Prophets that "The land is mine, saith the Lord," and it is expressive of the character of the Jew, who personifies the struggle towards social justice.

Palestine No Place for the Real Estate Speculator

LET me add that this plan is not leveled against the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, for, indeed, they will profit more than the Jewish inhabitants at the present time, since there are more non-Jewish tenants than Jewish rent payers. It is intended rather against the possibility of the growth of a small Jewish landlord class in Palestine, who through their superior shrewdness in land investment and their control over capital may be able to dominate the land of Israel. Objection is sometimes raised by those who claim that we have no right to restrict the activities of real estate speculators, for such people "make business" and help to develop the country. A similar argument was used against the abolition of slavery and might be employed against the restrictions on the opium trade and the closing of the saloons. Our answer must be, that while we have room for builders of houses and investors in farm lands and buildings, we will have no place in our Commonwealth for the real estate speculator. There are too many types already of those who reap where others sow; who expend time, energy, talents and capital on unproductive land, waiting to exact their profits from the growth of the community and the work of others. We need such capital and such talents for better use—for the development of industries that would give opportunity for laborers to earn their livelihood in Palestine. We must direct this capital and energy from the waste fields of real estate speculation into the highly productive esteblishments of agriculture, manufacture and commerce.

Digitized by Google

"For the Common Benefit of All"

WE aim to make it impossible for any group of people to tax the settlers of Palestine, annually, through the means of ground rents —and we condemn it as a system of taxation without representation. We propose to transfer this taxing power to the Commonwealth, where it rightfully belongs, for the common benefit of all. In practice it will operate only as a modest application of the powers that are now widely exercised by all governments. There are to-day protective tariffs which protect some industries while crippling others; and income taxes which take a portion of the wealth of the individual for the benefit of all. Yet all that we propose is to take only the values that will be created in the future, leaving intact the present-day land values. Since these values of the future will be the creation of society itself, we declare that these benefits should go for the advantage of all, through a land taxation program.

In any event, we shall have to assess all plots of land in Palestine for the purpose of taxation, and it would not be difficult to estimate the values as they existed at the outbreak of the Great War. The City of New York annually assesses all its land and places the value upon every plot, distinct and separate from the value of the improvements. In like manner, we will assess all lands—whether agricultural or industrial, whether rural or urban, as distinct from all the buildings and improvements made by the landlord or the tenant. The latter will be exempt from this special land taxation, *but any increase in the value of the ground itself will go to the State in the shape of an annual tax.*

If we be charged with the heinous crime of Single Tax or Socialism in promulgating such a plan, let us answer that we shall reject no stone that may be necessary in the construction of the House of Israel, no matter by what name it may be called. As a matter of fact, however, our plan is neither a Single Tax program nor a Socialist platform, but rather an outgrowth of our modern industrial system itself, which shows us how to acquire speedily the land of our forefathers, with full justice to the present-day inhabitants of Palestine. But the Jew has been the arch-socialist and the great capitalist of history, and we have the right to borrow from both in order to build the New Zion.

In the olden days, when Egypt, Assyria and Babylon were triumphant, but merciless military despotisms, the first Hebrew State gave to the world the concept of monotheism and the fundamental principles of morality, embellished by the thoughts of the prophet and the rhetoric of the poet. A few centuries later, when Rome was completing her conquest of the world, the second Hebrew Commonwealth—the State built by the heroism of the Maccabees—gave additional proof of the Hebraic genius. To-day we are entering the social period of the world's history, when

Digitized by Google

questions of politics and race will be properly subordinated to the question of capital and labor. Will the Jew prove true to his old self and present to the world an example of a social-moral community—a true Common-Wealth—resting on the foundation stone of social justice?

Bernard A. Rosenblatt

DR. MOSES GASTER, Haham (Chief Rabbi) of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogues of the British Empire for the past thirty years, and vice-president of the first Zionist Congress, will contribute to an early number of THE MENORAH JOURNAL *an article on "Zionist Policies and Politics."*

Major Norman Bentwich, Procureur-General and Judge of Appeals for the British Occupied Territory in Palestine, and one of the ablest of the younger scholars and Zionist leaders in England, writes us that he is preparing an article for THE MENORAH JOURNAL *on "A Blossoming of Jewish Life in this spring of our history"—a reflection of the great hope Major Bentwich entertains for the revival of Jewish life and culture in Palestine.*

Digitized by Google

The American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem

By James A. Montgomery

James A. Montgomery, Professor of Hebrew and Aramaic at the University of Pennsylvania, and of the Old Testament at the Philadelphia Divinity School, was Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in 1914-15, and is now Chairman of its Executive Committee. He is the author of "The Samaritans, the Earliest Jewish Sect," and of numerous Biblical and Oriental studies in learned publications; also editor of "Religions of the Past and Present," and of the Journal of the American Oriental Society.

At this time when Jews all over the world are looking toward Jerusalem with renewed aspirations and all Americans as well are taking an intelligent interest in the Holy Land such as they never felt before, it is timely to call attention to one American institution in Jerusalem which should be known by all students and lovers of Palestine.

This is the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, of which it may be said that it is the only generally representative American institution in the Holy City. It may not be known that our country is most slightly represented in Jerusalem. The Jewish work there has been all of international character. There is one so-called American church there. There is a so-called "American Colony," which, however, is not American. As a matter of fact this School is the only institution in Jerusalem which representatively carries the name "American."

The School was established and opened in 1900. Its inception was primarily due to the efforts of Prof. Joseph H. Thayer, of Harvard University, the distinguished lexicographer of the New Testament. All properties of the School are held by the Archæological Institute of America, which possesses a national charter. In order to diffuse the interest in the School the management is in the hands of a Managing Committee consisting of representatives of the Archæological Institute, the Society of Biblical Literature, and all institutions and individuals contributing $100 annually. There are about thirty-five contributing universities, colleges and seminaries, this list including the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, Dropsie College of Philadelphia, and the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

Noted Directors and Students

In the past two decades there has gone forth to Jerusalem a small but steady stream of American scholars to take up work at this School. The list of Directors includes the following scholars, most of whom are well known for their contributions to Biblical and general Semitic scholarship: Professors C. C. Torrey of Yale, George A. Barton of Bryn Mawr, Lewis P. Paton of

Digitized by Google

Hartford Seminary, H. G. Mitchell of Boston University, Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell, Benjamin W. Bacon of Yale, David G. Lyon of Harvard, Francis Brown of Union Seminary, Robert F. Harper of Chicago University, Richard, Gottheil of Columbia, Charles R. Brown of Newton Seminary, J. F. McCurdy of Toronto University, Warren J. Moulton of Bangor Seminary, and George L. Robinson of McCormick Seminary. Each year the Director has been accompanied by a Fellow and a number of volunteer students, registering as regular or special.

The influence of the School on the younger men who have gone to it as students may be noted in the subsequent successful careers many of them have made. I might name James R. Jewett, subsequently professor at Harvard; Rabbi Martin A. Meyer of San Francisco; Prof. A. T. Olmstead of the University of Illinois; Prof. Jesse E. Wrench of the University of Missouri; Profs. D. D. Luckenbill and Martin Sprengling of Chicago Seminary. These lists show that a large number of our productive Biblical scholars have had some of their education at the School in Jerusalem, which has thus proved itself to be a true normal school for the Bible, in teaching the men on the field who are to be our teachers at home. And all these scholars will be the first to witness to the vast good they have themselves received and to the necessity of such a schooling coming into the education of all Bible students.

It is well known that in the classical studies this method of field instruction has been long and largely followed by our eminent schools of research at Athens and Rome, which themselves exist in friendly rivalry with the famous schools of the European nations. But Biblical science has been particularly backward in this respect, for reasons which it is hard to diagnose, for Palestine is a field of special interest to both Jew and Christian, to the students of both sacred and secular history. It may be noted that our American School is the only one in Palestine which is not connected with some religious body. The most famous school of archæology in Jerusalem is that of the French Dominicans, while the German school, which had an auspicious career before the war, belongs to the German Evangelical Church. This freedom from any religious affiliation enables our School to represent America in a very catholic manner. And it is the determined policy of the management of our School to continue this broad policy and also as far as possible to enter into co-operation with all similar bodies.

Co-operation With the Hebrew University

DURING the war British scholars set on foot a School of Archæology in Palestine and we have been in constant correspondence with this new institution, looking toward close fellowship. It is interesting to note that French scholars are also mooting a similar French school and we have been in correspondence with their representatives. We are most interested in the future of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. We hope that also with that institution we may enter into close affiliation, and that it will see its way to develop in the historic manner of great universities by various methods of affiliation

Digitized by Google

with cognate institutions, whereby liberty may be left to each, while at the same time unity of aim and economy of working are obtained.

The American School has so far had a small budget, not being able to finance more than the payment of its living quarters and a modest stipend for its director and for the Fellow. It has not even had the funds to publish its annual memoirs, and there lies at hand a large sheaf of archæological papers of members of the School waiting for publication. A number of such papers have already appeared in the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature.* As soon as our funds permit, we shall begin publishing an annual volume, which will serve as a constant advertisement and a permanent record of the School's work.

The present writer was the last Director of the School in 1914. Soon after his arrival in Syria the Great War broke out, but he proceeded with his family to Jerusalem and was there in the last memorable months of that year when Turkey broke faith with the Allies and cast in her lot with Germany. On account of the difficulties of the situation he had to leave, to his intense regret, at the end of the year. The School has been closed academically since that time, although since the British Expedition reached the Holy City we have given our building to the American Red Cross in Jerusalem, which is now occupying it.

The Bright Prospects for the Immediate Future

WITH the British capture of Jerusalem, the prospects of the School became bright again and the committee in charge have been hard at work making plans for the future. The first thing to do was to select our new Faculty. The Director we have chosen is Prof. William H. Worrell of the Hartford Seminary, a Semitist and especially skilled in the living languages of the Orient. He has lived like a native among the Egyptian Arabs. He will be able to make the teaching of these languages, especially Arabic, an adjunct of the School's work. It is hoped that Prof. Worrell may find it possible to remain as permanent Director, the School having now come to the point where a permanent chief is desirable. With Dr. Worrell will be associated Prof. Albert T. Clay of Yale University, the noted Assyriologist and archæologist. He will give part of his time to Palestine and part to some prospecting in Babylonia where it is hoped an American school of archæology can be established before long. Dr. W. F. Albright of Johns Hopkins University is the Fellow under appointment, a younger scholar of marked promise. These gentlemen plan to go to their posts early this summer.

The present center of the School is a rented building off the Jaffa Road, a very comfortable house, which suffices as the home for the Director and as a school building. But we are hoping for larger things. Some years ago we bought a large lot to the north of the Damascus gate. And during the war we were offered a gift of $50,000 by Mrs. James B. Nies of Brooklyn for the erection of a building on this lot. We are now just waiting for the final political and legal settlement of affairs in Palestine which will enable us to

Digitized by Google

realize this generous gift and also to make an appeal for a large support from the American public.

The present government in Jerusalem is keenly interested in the archæological preservation of the Holy City and has presented some plans which are now under consideration. These are confidential, not having reached the point where anything definite may be announced. But it is a vast asset to know that at last there exists a government in Jerusalem which will be the patron and aid of all worthy archæological research.

The Opportunities for American Students

THE readers of THE MENORAH JOURNAL have innumerable subjects connected with Palestine with which to engross themselves. But part of their inspiration must be the ancient history of their race and of that land which should make its appeal first of all to Jews. They should be happy to know that there exists in Jerusalem a well-established and hearty American institution devoted to Palestinian research and archæology, a place where all Americans and all lovers of Palestine may feel at home.

Further information concerning the School and its opportunities will be gladly given by the writer (care University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia), or by the Secretary of the Executive Committee, Prof. George A. Barton, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. The other members of this committee are: Prof. J. C. Egbert, Columbia University, President of the Archæological Institute; President Cyrus Adler, of Dropsie College; Profs. Bacon, Clay and Torrey, of Yale; Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania; the Rev. Dr. James P. Nies, of Brooklyn. It will be a pleasure to send reports of the School and any information to all who are interested.

It should be noted that the Thayer Fellowship of the School is open annually to competitive examination among students of the contributing institutions. It yields $1,000 for the year. All who are qualified to make use of the advantages of the School are eligible for admission as regular or as special students, admission being gratis to members of the contributing institutions and being granted to all others on the payment of a small fee. The new conditions in Palestine should result in a livelier interest in the Thayer Fellowship, and encourage, it is hoped, a larger influx of both regular and special students to take advantage of the unique opportunities offered by the School.

J. A. Montgomery

Digitized by Google

The Jew as Autobiographer

By Harry Salpeter

TO what shall we attribute this passion for self-revealment manifested in the unusual number of autobiographies written by our Jewish young men and women? Shall we refer it to the fact, so very flattering to ourselves, that the Jewish soul, keenly cognizant of the strangeness of the new world against which it has been projected, and moved by that inner impulse toward creation which is the possession only of rare souls, must set itself to the task of writing down its reactions to the new world? Or, to view the matter in another light, shall we say that the writing of these autobiographies—I am certain that more have been written than published—is only a consciously-adopted method of self-exploitation for the glory and profit of the self-exploiter and, incidentally, for the unholy edification of that part of the Gentile world which is accustomed to take literary slumming tours through autobiographies and similar "human documents"? And if the writing of autobiographies is not a consciously adopted method of self-exploitation, is it then a form for the expression of the natural overflow of emotion which has broken through the dam of middle-class reserve?

It is indeed strange that of all the writers of autobiography (or fiction in the form of autobiography) not a single one emerges from among the middle or upper classes of America. Whatever might have been the social and economic status of their families in Europe, in America they have been reduced to the common economic denominator of the Ghetto, in which the general sense of promiscuous living tends to destroy that sense of reserve and withdrawal characteristic of our middle- and upper-class groups. Moreover, in the Ghetto, Russian literature (which includes some first-rate autobiographies, especially those of Gorki, Kropotkin and Tolstoi) enjoys a very wide vogue, and the dictum that the Russian writers enjoin upon others and follow faithfully themselves is that of fidelity to the truth, whether it relates to oneself or not. Furthermore, the sufferings which the poor are forced to endure and the general uncertainty of their lives furnish more material easily adaptable to human interest treatment than the lives of our middle-class and rich American Jews. Again, these latter groups are almost, if not wholly, acclimatized to the new environment, and in the writing of an autobiograph of the type we are discussing there is needed the sharp realization of the spiritual conflict between the life of yesterday and that of today and a sense of strangeness at the new physical world and at the new set of values which have been substituted for the old. Besides, the average middle- or upper-class Jew, whether he has graduated from the Ghetto or not, most often desires to forget his Ghetto antecedents and associations, instead of perpetuating them in the doubtful literary form of autobiography.

Digitized by Google

All this does not completely explain why American Jews are the chief contributors to the field of autobiographical literature. It explains and only in part just how the members of that class from which our autobiographers are recruited would entertain no foundamental fear or reticence in telling about themselves. The important question, namely, why the Jews, of all the alien racial elements in this country, should be the most generous contributors to this literary field, and through it have achieved envious literary reputations, still remains unanswered. I wish I possessed the scientific turn of mind to attempt a fundamental explanation of this literary phenomenon, but that is a matter I shall have to leave to our friends, the anthropologists. They might set themselves to the task of examining in what subtle ways the mind of the immigrant, his desires, his ambitions, all the parts of him, interior, exterior, conscious, subconscious, are affected by the various types of American influence. Abraham Cahan (writing in "The Rise of David Levinsky") gives it as his opinion that a book might easily be written on the influence of a starched collar on the life of the immigrant. One is led to wish that Mr. Cahan (who knows both his immigrant and his America) might have written such a book; his writing of it would be an assurance that it would have as deep a human, as a psychological, interest and he might, incidentally, clear the way for the anthropologists.

BUT this turning out of autobiographies, if it is a manifestation peculiar to the Jewish element in America, and therefore a strange manifestation, is by no means an unhealthy one. To tell about yourself seems to be the easiest—because most natural—mode of expression for the literarily inclined. Through such a mode of expression those who have quarrels with America usually find an appropriate safety valve for their anger and bitterness. It is by no means difficult to understand why our young immigrants should be angry and bitter. So great is the disparity between the America which is pictured in the pales of Europe and the America of the Ghetto (for the Ghetto is a creation of America as much as it is of Europe, and as many of our immigrants come from the villages of Europe as from its crowded towns) that it is most natural they should be angry and bitter. It is the tendency of youth to permit itself to be deceived by illusions and then to be angry at the revelation of the truth. But it must be remembered that they are angry at America not because she is America, but because the America they have learned to know has shamefully deceived them. And how much more disastrous to youth is the shattering of an illusion than the shattering of some tangible thing which may be replaced! M. E. Ravage in his "An American in the Making" (the book rises above its banal title) tells how gloriously America was pictured to him in the little Roumanian village of his childhood and how deep was his disappointment at the revelation of the America of the Ghetto. It is only the weakly good-natured without any fibre in their being, or they who enjoy the enviable power of immediate adaptation to new conditions, who appear to take the deepest satisfaction in the America to which they are first introduced, that is, the America of the Ghetto. But they who write rhapsodically of the Ghetto usually do so after

Digitized by Google

they have left it (witness Mary Antin), and are so the more easily enabled to enshrine it in that literary halo which distant things invite.

But apart from their value as literature, or revelations of the soul or safety valves for the expression of anger and bitterness, the autobiographies play an important part in the matter of educating the uninformed—and prejudiced—Gentile as to the true nature of the Jew, a task which Potash and Perlmutter plays and magazine sketches can hardly fulfil. The pet aversions of a leading American publisher, I have been informed, are "Jews, Irish and niggers." Now if only some one could contrive to have him read Rose Cohen's "Out of the Shadow" or Elias Tobenkin's "Witte Arrives" (an autobiography cast in the form of a third-person novel) or Miss Stern's "My Mother," we might hope to reveal to him the flimsy basis of his prejudice—so far as the Jew is concerned, anyway. And since there must be others with a like aversion who are led to read books of this type, we may entertain a hope that these books—or some of them—are playing a practical part in contributing to destroy that baseless anti-Semitism which obtains, unfortunately, among many who call themselves Americans and which finds its only organ of expression in *Life*. For it is only necessary to show that a people shares the common qualities of men and women—in short, that they possess souls—to remove that prejudice, in so far as it is based on ignorance. And these books, with perhaps an exception or two, reveal human beings. I remember with what sweet humility a certain Gentile lady came to me to confess that she had been *so very much mistaken* in her estimate of the Jew; she had read Sidney Nyburg's "The Chosen People" which, though a novel and not an autobiography, tells about human beings about whom this lady had entertained an erroneous idea.

THESE random reflections are invited by the simultaneous appearance on the book market of two autobiographies of this type, as contrary in spirit and character as can be imagined. The books are Rose Cohen's "Out of the Shadow" (George H. Doran, New York) and Elizabeth Hasanovitz's "One of Them" (Houghton Mifflin, Boston). And these books are contrary in spirit and character because their writers are, and in that sense the books are faithful records of the characters of the authors.

Miss Cohen's book is a finer piece of work than Miss Hasanovitz's and yet the work of the latter stands out more definitely as the fearless expression of an independent and vigorous, if too crude and self-conscious girl. If ever an autobiography of the type we are considering breathed the spirit of revolt it is "One of Them." If ever an autobiography breathed the spirit of humility and resignation in all their beauty it is "Out of the Shadow." The publisher calls it "the fruit of unconscious art," in which estimate he is not mistaken, as publishers so often are. Miss Cohen achieves a type of literary perfection which is beyond the conscious reach and effort of Miss Antin. It has been unfortunate, in my opinion, that Mary Antin's work should so long have been considered—and perhaps still is considered—the model of an autobiographical style. To me she reveals herself as a smug, parvenu snob of the East Side, the sycophantic protegée of the nice and respectable persons who patronized

Digitized by Google

her, a person to whom the East Side existed as inspiration for her writing moods. In contrast to her, both Rose Cohen and Elizabeth Hasanovitz stand out as persons who, whether we love them or not, we cannot help respect as personalities. It is of their personalities that they have given us an unconscious revelation and it is what they are, and not what they have written, which engages (and sometimes absorbs) our attention. It would be well for those among us who have drifted away from the Rose Cohens and Elizabeth Hasanovitzes to read these books that they be reminded that even in America and to-day our people suffer need and destitution and that they be recalled to a sense of the bond which still subsists between them, no matter what divisions of culture and education have been set up between them.

Harry Salpeter

New Publications of Interest

[*Any of the publications named below may be ordered through the* MENORAH SERVICE DEPARTMENT—*in some instances, at a discount from the regular price. Books of exceptional interest are likely to be reviewed at length in subsequent numbers of* THE MENORAH JOURNAL.]

SOKOLOW, Nahum: *History of Zionism, 1600-1918.* With an Introduction by Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour. Vol. I. New York, Longmans, Green. $7.50.

JASTROW, Morris, Jr.: *A Gentle Cynic. Being the Book of Ecclesiastes.* Phila., Lippincott. $2.00.

Zionism and the Future of Palestine. The Fallacies and Dangers of Political Zionism. New York, Macmillan. $1.25.

JACOBS, Joseph: *Jewish Contributions to Civilization.* An Estimate. Phila., Jewish Publication Soc. of America. $1.50.

ZANGWILL, Israel: *Chosen Peoples. The Hebraic Ideal vs. the Teutonic.* New York, Macmillan. $1.00. (Reproducing in book form the article which appeared in THE MENORAH JOURNAL of October, 1918.)

FINLEY, John: *A Pilgrim in Palestine.* New York, Scribners. $2.00.

PINSKI, David: *Temptations. A Book of Short Stories.* Translated from the Yiddish by Isaac Goldberg. New York, Brentanos. $1.50.

FRIEDLAENDER, Israel:. *Past and Present. A Collection of Jewish Essays.* Cincinnati, Ark Pub. Co. $2.50.

PHILIPSON, David: *Centenary Papers and Others.* Cincinnati, Ark Pub. Co. $2.00.

RAISIN, Max: *A History of the Jews in Modern Times.* New York, Hebrew Pub. Co. $2.50.

MOORE, George Foot: *History of Religions. II. Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism.* New York, Scribners. $3.00.

Digitized by Google

GENERAL LIBRARY
SEP 10 1919
UNIV. OF MICH.

THE MENORAH JOURNAL

VOLUME V
No. 4

AUGUST
1919

Poland—1919 . . . . . DAVID PINSKI
"A Scene Out of Terrible Days"

In the Hope of the New Diaspora . . . NATHAN ISAACS

Some Pharisaic Delicacies . . . . . ISRAEL ABRAHAMS

What the World Owes to the Pharisees R. TRAVERS HERFORD
The Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture for 1919
(Concluded)

Colloques Comiques . . . . . MARTIN FEINSTEIN
I. "Yossele squats like a Nipponese Buddha——"
II. "Yankele kept a grocery store——"

A Revival of Jewish Music . . . . . JOSEPH REIDER

Religion and Nationality . . . . . LEON SIMON
(Concluded)

Blasco Ibañez and the Jews . . . . ISAAC GOLDBERG

PUBLISHED BY THE INTERCOLLEGIATE MENORAH ASSOCIATION
600 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK :: :: 35 CTS. A COPY

Digitized by Google

Best & Co.

MEN'S CLOTHES

"Made in Our Own Shops"

WHETHER a suit will retain its shape you can know only after long wear. *We know when we sell it!*

To insure it, we even fashion our canvas in our own shops. We shrink it before we cut it. We cut it from the same pattern as our coats. We sew it in by hand.

Just *one* of the reasons why our clothes fit and retain their shape.

Best & Co.

Fifth Avenue at 35th Street

Men's Shop—Fifth Floor Established 1879

You Never Pay More at Best's

Kindly mention The Menorah Journal when writing to advertisers

Digitized by Google

THE
MENORAH JOURNAL
VOLUME V AUGUST, 1919 NUMBER 4

Poland—1919

"A Scene Out of Terrible Days"

By David Pinski

Authorized Translation from the Yiddish

By Isaac Goldberg

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

THE solemn beauty of Pinski's symbolistic play,—a symbolism all too easily interpreted by the Jew who has been following the trend of universal events,—reveals the noted dramatist and writer of fiction in a mood of deep pessimism. I cannot help feeling that it is a passing mood, but it is a poignant one none the less, and leaves its mark upon writer and reader alike. In actual presentation the symmetrical structure of the piece, as well as its pictorial conception—and Pinski has a strong sense of the pictorial which is easily overlooked on the printed page—add to the solemnity of impression. Note particularly the effect of the men grouped about the sunbeam, with the children among them, and the uncanny force of the questions and answers that rise from the darkness, as if giving voice to the gloom. And through it all, the piercing refrain, now a sob of despair, now a cry of rage, now a heaven-rending wail: "Why? Why?" The tragedy of the race, it would seem, is enacted in this cellar of darkness.

I. G.

A BIOGRAPHICAL sketch and appreciation of David Pinski, by his translator, Dr. Goldberg, appeared in the August, 1918, issue of The Menorah Journal, *preceding an English version of his play, "The Stranger." Mr. Pinski is considered the greatest of contemporary Yiddish playwrights, and among the most significant dramatists of our generation.*

Digitized by Google

SCENE

A spacious, dark cellar. From somewhere in the background there steals in a sunbeam, announcing that the clear sun of daylight reigns without, and revealing the silhouettes of various persons that people the cellar. Most of the forms lie huddled together upon the earth; it is difficult to recognize them as human shapes. A few are seated; three men stand about the shaft of sunlight; one on each side, close to the wall; the third before it, his hands crossed on his breast and his face toward the light. On the ground, in the triangle formed by the three standing men, a group of little boys and girls, reading from books.

Silence. The atmosphere quivers with intense strain. All are listening intently to every sound that comes from outside. For an appreciable while the silence is unbroken. Then commences a conversation between those who are seated and those who are lying upon the ground. There is a whispering of dry, hungering, weary voices, with pauses between the queries and the replies.

VOICES:

——It is still quiet outside.

——How long has it been quiet?

——She speaks of time! Do we even know how long we have been here?

——It's surely three or four hours that it's been so quiet.

——What can it mean?

——Have they ceased fighting, or——?

——It seems as if they've started to parley. There's not a sound from any quarter.

THE MAN AT THE RIGHT OF THE SUNBEAM: How does our night-prayer run? "To my right, Archangel Michael; to my left, Archangel Gabriel; before me, Archangel Uriel; behind me, Archangel Rafæl. . . ." And what have we now?—to our left, the Poles; to our right, the Ukrainians; before us, the Russians; behind, the Rumanians. . . .

THE MAN AT THE LEFT (*ironically*): And where is God?

ONE WHO IS SEATED: If we had thought of God before, then perhaps we should be better off now.

THE MAN AT THE LEFT: How much better off, dear Rabbi? When has the goodness and the piety of the Jews ever availed them?

VOICES:

——The Jews have always been scapegoats.

——Outside there, they'll all make peace and then fall upon us all at once.

——One against the other, and all against us.

——We aid in all wars, and then we're massacred even by those in whose ranks we have fought.

——Who knows what will yet be our fate?

——Woe! Woe! (*There rise the sounds of a soft, guarded, exhausted, dry weeping, for they have wept out all their tears.*)

A WOMAN, SEATED: Oh, Lord of the universe. Let them do anything, anything. . . . Let them break my bones, let them twist my arms, let them kill me; but not that, not that. . . .

A MAN (*beside her*): It was fifteen years ago I heard you say that for the first time.

THE WOMAN: And how many times have I repeated it since!

Digitized by Google

ANOTHER WOMAN: Many a Jewish daughter prayed that before her; and many a one will pray it after her, perhaps. (*Groans.*)

A MAN WHO IS STANDING: (*He is at the right, near the wall, and is invisible because of the intense darkness; his voice is stifled, hoarse, and echoes with despair.*) Why? Why?

THE VOICE OF A MAIDEN (*weakly, as if from underground*): Wasn't that a chill breeze that just blew through?

Silence

A LITTLE BOY (*near the sunbeam*): I've finished my book. Now I'll get very hungry.

A LITTLE GIRL (*near him*): Let's change books. I'll give you mine.

THE BOY: What are you reading?

THE GIRL: A Polish book.

THE BOY: I don't know Polish. I'll get terribly hungry.

THE GIRL: Then I'll teach it to you.

THE BOY: Oh, yes! Good-d-d! Then I won't be so awfully hungry. (*They both stretch out upon the ground, before the shaft of light.*)

THE MAN AT THE RIGHT: Just look at the "People of the Book"—And some Polish rioter will come along and smash their heads against a rock.

THE VOICE OF THE MAIDEN: I'm so cold.

Silence

THE MAN FACING THE SUNBEAM: But outside it's a glorious summer's day. The sun shines and laughs and warms and——

ONE WHO IS LYING DOWN: Shows where to shoot.

THE MAN FACING THE SUNLIGHT: Yet we are fortunate to have at least one ray of sunlight with us.

THE VOICE OF THE MAIDEN: What would I do if it were light here? I am all naked. Will no one cover me with something?

Silence

VOICES:

——The silence, it seems, is even worse than the firing. While the shooting was going on we could at least expect a bomb to strike the place and put an end to everything. Now we are utterly at a loss.

——Such silence is terror.

——It seems that they are planning some horrible thing around this house.

——God forbid!

A LITTLE BOY: I'd like to crawl out and take a look around.

HIS MOTHER: Lie where you are!

THE BOY: They couldn't see me. I'd creep like a worm.

HIS MOTHER: He'd creep, he says! He can hardly move a hand.

THE BOY: I'm small, and they couldn't see me.

HIS MOTHER (*sternly*): Lie where you are!

THE BOY (*petulantly*): I'm hungry!

THE VOICE OF A WOMAN (*very weak*): A crumb of bread. . . . A crumb of bread. . . .

THE VOICE OF THE MAIDEN: I can forget my hunger, but not my nakedness. If I only had something to wrap about me.

ONE ILL WITH FEVER (*with an outcry*): I'm burning! I'm on fire!—— (*His mouth is stopped.——Some women begin to sob softly.*)

Digitized by Google

THE UNSEEN QUESTIONER (*as if groaning*): Why? Why?

ONE WHO IS SEATED: It's enough to lift off your head.

ANOTHER: Mine has already flown off. Like the cover of a kettle.—Whizz!—Up flew my skull-bone; up, up, and after it my very brains. I can see it high up there. And if I should want to reach it, I would need a very high ladder. That's what makes me so sad. I haven't any such ladder.

A CHILD (*begins to cry in a very weak voice*): I want my fireman's ladder.

THE MOTHER: Hush-sh! . . .

A WOMAN: The poor thing is starving and asks for toys.

THE MOTHER (*herself beginning to weep*): Hush-sh! . . .

Silence

THE MAN FACING THE SUNBEAM: How the sun's ray calls and beckons to us! It makes us forget everything. It seems as if I could mount it and journey upward and upward. . . . And verses of happiness fill my mind. Why do I see only green fields outside? And a merry, glorious world? And a happy tranquillity.

VOICES:

——A "happy tranquillity" indeed!

——We ought really to find out what's going on.

THE LITTLE BOY: I'll crawl out.

VOICES:

——We should all crawl out. Why remain in hiding? Why torture ourselves? Let them wipe us out, and end it all.

——As long as we draw breath, we prefer to live.

——Rather a slow exhaustion in hopes of remaining alive, than the certainty of death.

THE LITTLE BOY: I'd crawl upon my belly. I wouldn't even raise my head. I'd peek just like this.

THE RABBI: We'll wait through just this day. And if it still remains quiet outside, one of us will have to crawl out and discover how matters stand.

A MAN (*his voice is scarcely audible*): I'll not survive this day. I am done for.

Silence

THE VOICE OF A WOMAN: A crumb of bread. . . . A crumb of bread. . . .

VOICES:

——Soon we'll all be speaking like that.

——We, too, will forget our names for hunger.

——We'll never leave this place alive.

——What will not be eaten up by the lice, will be devoured by the mice.

——It's enough to lift your head off.

THE MADMAN: We'll stand upon one another's shoulders and reach the head.

A WOMAN (*sits bending over something in her lap, and groans with stifling despair*): Gone! . . . Gone! . . . He's dead! . . . My child is dead! . . . Tseitele, Avrahmele, Layzer'l is dead. . . . Your brother is dead.

Digitized by Google

TWO CHILDREN, *seated beside her, burst into tears, weeping with weak voices.*

THE WOMAN: He is dead. Now he is well; now he is happy. . . .

VOICES:

——Ah! Lord of the universe!

——Where can we bury him?

——He'll not be the only corpse very long; we'll all soon join him.

——We'll have to crawl out of here. How can we stay now?

——We'll have to dig a deep grave here.

——For all of us.

A LITTLE BOY (*wailing*): I'm afraid! I want to go out! (*A hand is pressed against his mouth.*)

THE QUESTIONER (*with an outburst of tears*): Why? Why?

ONE WHO IS SEATED: Because we meddle in everything. Because we have a hand in everything. For our revolutions.

THE MAN AT THE LEFT OF THE SUNBEAM: Because of your money-grubbing. Because of your exploitation. Because of your capitalism.

THE RABBI: Because we have forgotten God.

ONE WHO IS SEATED: Because of our aloofness. Because of our attitude as the chosen people.

THE MAN AT THE RIGHT OF THE SUNBEAM: Because of your fawning; because of your assimilation. Because of your self-assertion.

A WOMAN: Now they start to argue. Found the right time for it. They'll get to shrieking yet.

VOICES:

——Better let us dig the little grave.

——With what can we dig it?

——I believe I'm lying upon a spade.

——Who has the strength to dig?

THE WOMAN: I myself. I myself will dig the grave, and dig it for two. How long can I last? I hope I last long enough to dig the grave.

HER TWO CHILDREN *burst into tears.*

THE WOMAN: I'll dig it for four. Don't cry. I'll dig it for four. (*Arises and drags herself in the direction of the voice that has mentioned the spade.*)

THE VOICE: You will have to remove the spade yourself from under me. I haven't the strength to stir.

THE WOMAN *pulls forth the spade, returns to her place and begins to dig.—The sobbing of women is heard.*

The VOICE OF THE MAIDEN: If she would only scatter the thrown-up earth over me. It would cover my nakedness.

THE UNSEEN QUESTIONER (*through clenched teeth and in an angry voice*): *Why? Why?* (*Silence. Only the digging is heard; here and there a weak groan; here and there a sob.*)

A LITTLE BOY: I can't read any more. My eyes hurt.

ANOTHER: My eyes hurt, too. But when it gets real dark, then we won't be able to read. And then we'll get terribly hungry.

A LITTLE GIRL: When it grows dark we'll go to sleep.

FIRST BOY: You must lie down on your stomach, and press it hard. Then you won't feel hungry.

Digitized by Google

THE SECOND: When I lie on my stomach I lick up the earth, and I get such an unpleasant feeling. . . .

THE VOICE OF A WOMAN: A crumb of bread. . . . A crumb of bread. . . .

ONE ILL WITH FEVER: I'm burning! . . . I'm on fire; . . . I . . . . (*a hand is clapped over his mouth*) on fire!

THE VOICE OF THE MAIDEN: And I'm so cold. I'm freezing. . . . And how shall I get out of this place? I'm totally naked.

VOICES:

——She actually hopes to get out of here!

——There's no getting out of this place.

——Death is lurking about. . . . Madness is hovering around. . . . They are crawling over us like vermin. . . . I would swear that there's a dead body next to me. . . .

——Woe! Woe! (*Weeping.*)

THE WOMAN (*who is digging*): When I get through I'll give you the spade.

THE QUESTIONER (*with a sudden outcry*): Why?

VOICES (*they come from various directions, and ring with terror*): Hush-sh!

ONE NOT FAR FROM THE QUESTIONER: We have forgotten how to shriek. That is it. When the Romans started to rend the skin from the face of Rabbi Ishmael the High Priest,—one of the ten martyrs slain by the authorities,—he let out such piercing shrieks that there came a voice from heaven, saying: "If you shriek once more, I'll wreck the entire world." That's how we ought to be able to shriek to-day, and let the whole world crumble to dust!

THE POET (*facing the sunbeam*): No! Outside shines the glorious sun! Vast and round and brilliant!

THE MAN AT THE RIGHT: And its rays tells us of a land whither the Jews shall return,—it tells of full freedom, of a home of their own, of sunny independence, of a life without persecution, without scorn, without pogroms, of a life——

THE MAN AT THE LEFT:——Without master or slave, without exploiter and exploited. The sunbeam speaks to us of a new day and a new world, with a new justice, new relations between man and man, between people and people.

THE POET: Then let us saddle the sunbeam and fare forth upon its back into the sunny world. For this is the ray of hope. This is the——

(*A bomb strikes the spot, burying the refugees beneath the ruins. But above the débris, in the bright light of day, are visible the Poet and the Questioner, gasping with their last breath.*)

THE POET (*in exaltation, dying*): The vast, beautiful, glorious sun!

THE QUESTIONER (*with a terrible, heaven-rending outcry*): Why? Why?

CURTAIN

David Pinski.

Digitized by Google

In the Hope of the New Diaspora

By Nathan Isaacs

[Editors' Note: *In "Whither?—a Commencement Address to the Jewish Youth at the Crossroads," printed in our last number, a plea was made for a thoughtful, unprejudiced, constructive answer to the question of the future of Judaism in the modern world. Such an answer involves an analysis of the basic principles of Reconstruction in society as a whole no less than a critical study of the old and the upbuilding of a new Jewish life throughout the world—in the "New Diaspora" as well as in the "New Zion." The following article is presented as a beginning of that answer. Other contributions, from various points of view, will be published in subsequent issues.*]

IT may be true that our returning soldiers are more immediately concerned with that personal problem of Reconstruction, the procuring of a new job, than with big world-problems like the fate of the Jews and Judaism. For myself, I believe that the Jewish young men, and young women too, of to-day have had their emotions so deeply stirred and their eyes so suddenly opened that they are bound to take their Judaism very seriously. In any event Reconstruction in the Diaspora is a task that calls for the best efforts of the Jewish youth of to-day.

You may, of course, be either such an intense Zionist or so complete an Assimilationist that you will refuse to entertain any hopes for the New Diaspora—a better life for the portion of Israel scattered among the nations. Or you may be so thoroughly under the spell of German-American Reform or of Neo-Orthodoxy, that you must believe all's right with the world and no Reconstruction is necessary. But unless you are a member of one of these four little groups of extremists—the logical Reformers, the thoroughly satisfied Orthodox, the over-zealous Zionists or the unalterable Assimilationists—I am sure you will consider it no intrusion if I address you not only "in the hope of the New Zion" but also "in the hope of the New Diaspora."

The vast body of non-partisan Jewry is well aware of the fact that it has been suffering from the unnatural life of the Old Diaspora for two thousand years, and that it is still suffering. The atrocities inflicted on our people in our own days have been as great as those witnessed by any single generation in

Nathan Isaacs (A. M., L L. B., Ph.D.), recently Professor of Law and Assistant Dean of the University of Cincinnati Law School, was born in Cincinnati in 1886. Commissioned captain U. S. A. in 1918, he has been serving in Washington in the Military Intelligence Division, General Staff. For 1919-20 he has been appointed Thayer Teaching Fellow at the Harvard Law School. His writings include numerous articles in law journals; and he was assistant editor in charge of Hebrew for the International Standard Bible Encyclopedia. Active in Jewish communal affairs; formerly a member of Executive Committee, Federation of American Zionists; now Vice-Chairman of the Menorah Educational Conference.

Digitized by Google

the dark history of the Jews—and the immediate outlook is not very bright. It is not impossible to find arguments or arguers for the proposition that the Judeo-Christian civilization is a failure. At least, the relations between Jews and Christians in it have been unsatisfactory. The War has increased the burdens of Israel to the breaking point—but it is sheer folly to look to the War for the source of all of them. The process of Destruction in Jewish life that is now making necessary a Reconstruction has been going on for centuries. Sooner or later Reconstruction would have set in or the Destruction would have been complete even had there been no War. The medieval ghetto was after all but a temporary structure, and as we watched its walls crumbling we could never be sure that we would be able to build better or wiser than our ancestors.

The paucity of the part played by the War in the Destruction must be clearly understood if we are to find a firm basis on which to rebuild. Otherwise we might make the mistake of drawing our plans after the *status quo ante bellum*, a status which represents the end of the Destruction, not its beginning.

The Old Diaspora Before the War

WHAT was the condition of the Old Diaspora in 1914? Physically the Jews were scattered throughout the Christian and Mohammedan worlds, everywhere forming a small minority. Considerably more than half of them were subject to political disabilities in the countries of their birth, and treated in all respects as aliens. Many of the others in the more advanced countries to which they had wandered were actually aliens or sons of aliens. A very small portion had made the adjustments and compromises necessary to enable them and their children to live comfortably in liberal countries, but not entirely without the inconvenience of anti-Semitism. If prejudice did not show itself in the political or economic field, it at least had its social manifestations. More serious, however, than the inconveniences were the compromises that modern life seemed to exact. The Destruction of the ghetto period had consisted largely in the dwarfing of Judaism by confining it between the walls of a dark, narrow street; the sons of the psalmist who had seen the works of the Lord in the wonders of the deep and in the beauties of the heavens, had come down to thanking the Lord for giving the cock understanding to distinguish between day and night. But in the modern period the Destruction amounted to stripping Jewish life of everything distinctive about it, in spite of many well-meant efforts to distinguish between what was worthy of being kept and what was not. Both processes were based on the instinct of self-preservation in hostile surroundings by means of hiding. In the ghettos the Jews actually hid them-

Digitized by Google

selves like animals in their holes. When finally they left these holes they adopted the expedient of taking on the stripes and colors of their surroundings so as to be inconspicuous and thus escape attack. Perhaps if the Hebrews of Egypt had in like manner changed their costumes, their names and their language, they would not have attracted the unwelcome attention of the Pharaohs, but the Midrash assures us that they would not have been redeemed, either—and Israel and the world would have been the losers.*

The Jewry of 1914 was not in a very promising state for purposes of redemption.

Of course, the cumulative fund of thought that Jewry had stored up was still there—in the custody, perhaps, of the mystic Thirty-Six of Jewish legend. It was only "practical" Judaism that was in a bad state. Yet even this was not hopeless. If Israel was more scattered than ever, the improvements in the world's methods of transportation and communication were rapidly making of the world the "one city" of the Yiddish proverb. If the old system of Jewish organization had broken down, the old education decayed, the old interests neglected, there was a great deal to take their places. Better Jewish school-books were coming into existence, greater interest was being shown in the Hebrew language, new forms of organization were gradually taking the place of the old, Jewish publications were springing up everywhere—and altogether there was more Jewish life of one kind or another both inside and outside of the Pale than during many a period in our history.

Zionism had contributed a great deal to this new life. Let us be more accurate. Perhaps Zionism was not the cause, but only one of the effects, of the Jewish folk's renewed interest in life. The hopefulness of the Jewish spirit that had manifested itself for thousands of years in the various Messiah ideas, from the time of Jacob's blessing down to the present day, had, in modern Zionism, grasped the idea of the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

Viewing the Jews As One of the World's Families

THE Old Diaspora had destroyed much and spoiled more, but it could not touch the Jewish hope. Now it is at least improbable that the War by bringing one part of that hope to the point of realization will so change the Jewish nature that the Jews will stop hoping. There is an interesting rabbinic discussion as to whether the Children of Israel

*My friend S. Baruch suggests here: "The Malbim comments on Genesis xlviii 8-9, in a different spirit: though Manasseh and Ephraim were dressed as Egyptians . . . Jacob blessed them . . .!"

True, but if it had not been for the timely arrival of their immigrant uncles and cousins and grandfather, what would have become of these young natives of Egypt, brought up among the Egyptian friends of their prosperous father?

Digitized by Google

had consumed the Messiah promised by Isaiah when they enjoyed the reign of Hezekiah. We may some day have a similar discussion as to whether Palestine Regained exhausts the hopes of Israel. The answer will not depend on the success of Zionism—may it be complete!—but on Jewish psychology. The Jews cannot believe that their Messiah has come until Elijah himself announces the advent.

So ten or twelve million of us Jews are doomed to live in hope and be in and of the world. We are quite accustomed to this fate, and we turn familiarly to the task of making our adjustments so as to dwell in peace and friendship with our neighbors. Our task, however, is to reconstruct not the walls of the medieval ghetto nor the nineteenth century labyrinth of Jewish relations, but a New Diaspora, in which the Jews may take their rightful place in the modern world. Let us rather say their "posts of duty" and talk of our duties instead of our rights. We have able congressmen and boards of delegates and national committees to proclaim our rights, and they really do very well. But a consideration of our duties is more important in the process of Reconstruction. From this angle we see the Jewish problem as a part of a world-problem. The Jews are, after all, not the most important people in the world. They are merely one of the Families of mankind—and a Family that has endured and caused a great deal of trouble, though it has also seen much good and sent forth many benefactors to the world. The world's great problem to-day is a sort of housing problem for just such Families—how to make the best possible provision for them for the peace and safety and general welfare of mankind. The new ordering of the world will consist largely in the reform of methods for organizing governments among the great Families of mankind that differ from one another in language, customs and laws, in religion, in tastes and in aptitudes, in traditions, in aspirations, in appearance—in short, in body, mind and soul.

The European Way: The Rule of Dominant Families

CONTINENTAL Europe has heretofore resorted to a simple expedient for the disposition of peoples. It has linked State and what I might call Family, that is, the grouping of men by the fact or fiction of kinship—very much as it has linked State and Church. Not only have the reigning families in the narrow sense been perpetuated by birth, but the ruling classes and the dominant elements generally have been determined in the same way. The man born into the smaller, weaker Family as well as the man baptized in the smaller, weaker Church had to pay tribute to a State controlled by men of another Family or Church. In the course of the nineteenth century Church and State were separated.

Digitized by Google

Family and State were not. Imperialism in Europe meant the attempt to force subject peoples to conform to the ways and wishes of the powerful peoples who gave their names to States. There was deliberate exploitation of the smaller Families for the benefit of the larger, and generally exploitation of the kind that curses him that gives and him that takes. The Poles of Germany were expected to surrender their individuality, to become Germans in every respect, to pay taxes for teaching their children German and for helping them forget Polish—and then as a reward to accept the toleration and impudence of born Germans, with no hope of position or preferment except for those lucky individuals graciously adopted into the German Family. The Jews were in a very similar position throughout Europe. That was the old Continental scheme.

The new Continental scheme is not very different. Polish arrogance is no more lovely than Prussian arrogance. The Treaty of Versailles still recognizes the principle of joining State and Family, Clan or Tribe. To avoid oppression, however, it seeks to create as many States as there are great Families. It is too late to carry out this policy of self-determination literally, for Imperialism has reigned in Europe so long that it has succeeded in getting some of the Families hopelessly scattered and mixed. The Jews in particular—at least in those countries where they have not been officially adopted into other Families as they have been theoretically in France and Germany—present a difficult problem in the new ordering of Europe. Consequently the borders of Europe are to be extended and a more or less Jewish Commonwealth provided for under the new dispensation. At the same time, in some of the reconstituted States, minority rights for some of the smaller Families are to be secured, and to that extent a State is expected not to repudiate all Families but to recognize two or more official Families after the manner of the old Austria-Hungary. In all essential features the Treaty revives the "tribal state" of the middle ages in Europe—and in the new annex to Europe, the New Palestine.

Individual Freedom in England and America

IN Great Britain and America, however, we have never had—at least not since the King of the English became the King of England, at some remote time, whence the memory of man runneth not to the contrary—a tribal state or a tribal law. Anglo-American law is strictly territorial; a law is the law of a country, not of a group of men. The Anglo-American system knows nothing of "nationality" in the Continental sense, the principle that a man's status is governed throughout his life by his family connections. On the contrary one's capacity to perform juristic acts depends here on the law of the place where one happens

Digitized by Google

to be; and such incidents of his personal status as must be governed by a fixed law, are governed by the law of the place where he lives, his domicile. Ancestry has very little to do with it in England, and less in America. These two countries have achieved, for very interesting historical reasons, the separation of Family from State. Therein lies the difference between British imperialism and German imperialism or Alldeutschtum. Therein lies the real difference between the problem of the three million Jews in America and that of the three million Jews in Poland. America's law is non-tribal; all men are free to form such associations as they wish in their daily affairs as well as in religion. The Constitution prohibits the favoring not only of any Church, but also of any race or color or group boasting of a previous condition of freedom.

What is the American solution of the world-problem of providing for the happiness and efficiency of the several Families of mankind—to take the place of the European solutions that are so well illustrated in Zionism and in Jewish Nationalism under a system of Minority Rights? Under our happy arrangement of the complete separation of Family and State, it is almost as difficult to make an American see the problem as it is to make a European realize that we have accomplished anything towards its solution. The Germans taunted our prisoners of war by telling them that they had yet to find an American in the American army. They did not consider the Levys, DuBoises, O'Briens, Knutsons and Pappandrikopolouses Americans. If Germany's intelligence officers in this country had learned the simple fact that to be a thorough American one does not have to belong to any particular Family—whatever the situation may be in Germany—it is possible that instead of wasting their time on intrigues and their money on bribery, they might have saved Germany from the folly of dragging America into the War. The non-tribal American state is as inconceivable to the Frenchman, German and Pole of to-day as the unchurched American state was shocking to their great grandfathers when our government was established.

It may prove difficult even for Americans to resist the importation of the European notion. Much of the talk we now hear of Americanization is nothing but an unconscious imitation of Russification, Polonization, Germanization, and the like, based squarely on the doctrine that a State can serve and be served by only one natural Family, including, of course, a limited number of adopted children. This is the theory that fostered the hatreds of middle Europe; it is diametrically opposed to the theories that enabled America to win the loyalty of the largest and most diverse alien population ever found within the boundaries of a single country. The American method—that is, so far as the government has been concerned—has been to accord to the individual immigrant the greatest personal liberty consistent with obedience to law and loyalty to the country.

Digitized by Google

IN practice this liberty has been effectively curtailed by economic and social considerations. It has generally been found more profitable, more pleasant, and easier to be like one's neighbors regardless of the fact that the law said little or nothing about our clothes, our diet, our recreations, our clubs and charitable organizations, our etiquette, our songs, our languages (beyond requiring a familiarity with English), our literature, our drama, our education (beyond requiring a minimum), or any of our higher aspirations. But there is a vast difference between social or economic restraints and legal restraints in such matters. And if in spite of America's liberality, social and economic restraints have kept some of our foreigners or peculiar native groups from doing what they should in the way of self-determination, the remedy is surely more liberality, not less.

A liberal policy not only on the part of the Government but also on the part of the people will involve, first of all, a more intense and intelligent study of the constituent elements of America than has yet been made. I do not mean to imply that an enlightened self-interest does not demand or will not lead to a similar study, even if it begins with the most chauvinistic major premise formulated while parts of America were temporarily Prussianized as a result of the War. The end of the War has brought with it the end of American provincialism. America has discovered Europe. The one-time reproach of being a "dago" or a "wop" or a "hunk" has been rolled away by an army order. That is not all. America has discovered hitherto neglected parts of itself. It has learned that it is largely made up of groups of Families, that have learned to live together in peace. The discovery might have been alarming—at least to the European mind—had it not been for the simultaneous discovery of the fact that all of these groups are capable of making similar sacrifices and displaying equal loyalty, if they are only given a fair chance.

A little experiment in the army, one of those that was cut short by the armistice, is wonderfully suggestive in this connection. In a certain training-camp where foreign elements were giving a great deal of trouble, permission was obtained to organize a few foreign-language units. The men were given non-commissioned officers and cooks of their own groups. Within a few weeks the morale in that camp improved a hundred fold. An interest in the work, a friendly rivalry among the companies—extending even to baseball—and a determination to learn English took the place of apathy and sullenness. It seems very simple. If Italians want spaghetti and Hungarians goulash and Jews "gefillte" fish, why sicken them all with pork and beans? It really does not make better Americans of them.

Digitized by Google

Wasted Human Assets

LET us now imagine the whole country asking itself the question with which the commanding officer of that camp was confronted: How can we improve the morale of all the groups in our midst, and call forth the best efforts of which they are capable? Let us imagine an American Commission appointed by the President to study for purely patriotic, or what amounts to the same thing, for selfishly American purposes, the best methods of exploiting our peculiar groups for the benefit of America. Have we ever studied our foreign groups this way to see what they had to give us? Until the exigencies of War made us think of them as a part of our assets, I am afraid most Americans considered them liabilities or at best long-time investments. My imaginary Commission might be astonished to learn that we have been melting down many priceless ornaments as broken gold. Let me illustrate my point by reference to the Hungarian diaspora, which is a less complex phenomenon than the Jewish. A Hungarian farmer-lad has realized his boyhood ambition, to go to America and make money. He does not intend to stay in America, of course, for his whole ambition is based on the example of the richest peasant in his village, who many years ago brought back a little fortune from America. His imagination has been fired by the pictures and advertisements shrewdly displayed by the steamship companies. He has been encouraged in his plan, intentionally or unintentionally, by consular agents and employment agents, by private bankers (who are frequently nothing but money-changers and money exporters), by foreign-language newspapers, by foreign-language churches and clubs. He has no intention of becoming an American citizen. He develops no contact with America. There were millions of farmer-boys of this type in America when the War broke out. But though they were among the best farmers in the world, they were not working on our farms. They were in the factories and mines and along the railroad tracks. America has certainly overlooked an opportunity in failing to establish proper relations with these young men.

Coming back to the Jews, our imaginary Commission would undoubtedly find that America is not getting what it should—and eventually will—out of them. Oh, yes, I know that books will be written to show that the percentages of Jews in this War were as much greater than those of the general population as they have been in other wars. I know that some remarkable figures may be worked out about the relation between Judaism and the success of Liberty Loans; and the Jews may altogether be proved a more useful class of citizens than any other. I do not like this type of apologetic literature. It reminds me too much of a document recently published by the German Lutherans in America

Digitized by Google

when they were under fire because of the supposition that one William Hohenzollern was the Supreme Head of their ecclesiastical system. In this document it is suggested that without the Lutherans none of America's wars could have been fought to a successful conclusion, and none of our American institutions established. In fact, it reads very much like Jewish documents I have seen.

Helping the Jew to Live Up to His Ideals

WITH all due regard to this, I repeat, America is not yet getting the most out of its Jews. Our commission would count it of more importance that the Jews have begun to furnish the models of several means of social betterment in American city life, and that they have been active both on the concert stage and as patrons in bringing good music to America, than that they have contributed so many governors, mayors, congressmen or successful merchants to the annals of America. They might count it of even greater importance if Jews were able to elucidate to learned America what Jewish life means and what Jewish thought is. They would surely count it of the highest importance if the actual life of the Jews in America could be made to embody Jewish ideals.

The Commission might prefer to deal with concrete methods. Let me suggest one: the encouragement of the Jewish Sabbath. Clearly Sabbath breaking does not make better Americans of Jews, though it is a conforming to American life. As soon as America realizes what the Sabbath means to the Jewish family from a secular as well as a religious point of view—that giving the Jew his Sabbath will establish American Jewish life on a higher plane, will automatically give the Jew a better standard of living, will help to preserve all that is good in Jewish family life, and make happier and more enthusiastic citizens of natives and immigrants—there will not only be an end to anti-Sabbath legislation, but there will be a willingness on the part of individual Jews and Gentiles alike to co-operate in the restoration of this *sine qua non* of a wholesome Jewish life. The fact that the discussion of labor's demands for a five-day week has not been coupled with the Jewish problem save in the small Mizrachi circles, is evidence that our hypothetical Commission's work of discovering the Jewish Sabbath for American ends remains to be done. For the creation of a sound basis for Jewish life in this country is, after all, an American problem as much as it is a Jewish problem

In the absence of the imaginary Commission, who shall interpret the needs and abilities and convey the offerings of the parts of America to America? Manifestly the task falls on the groups themselves. What

Digitized by Google

a wonderful function is here for the American Jewish leaders of the next generation! How much more difficult and happier than the function of the leaders of the last generation, who at best had to fight for elemental human rights, and at worst whined over petty wrongs. But these pioneers did their rough work well, and we are not ungrateful.

America—the Alexandria of the New Diaspora

I HAVE chosen America from among the countries of the New Diaspora for this "close-up" picture not only because it seems to be destined to house the greatest Jewry outside of Palestine and the countries of Eastern Europe where the Jews will have greater or less Minority Rights, but also because its Jewry will have a function that will make the New Diaspora worth while. The older countries may be to the New Zion what Babylon was to Jerusalem, while America will be more like Alexandria, the other Diaspora center in the days of the Second Temple. Babylonian Jews brought back a Diaspora civilization to Palestine, and Babylonian Jewry never really stopped pouring strength and inspiration into Palestine. Alexandrian Jewry served an opposite function. It was not primarily a gathering depot of Diaspora civilization but rather a disseminating station of Jewish tradition, including contemporary Palestinian civilization, for the world. This Alexandrian function is one of the greatest that will fall to the lot of the New Diaspora, and America is the best, perhaps the only place for its accomplishment. For not only does America guarantee to its Jewry the right to maintain its separate Family hearth unmolested as will the countries of Minority Rights, but it invites its Jewry to help in the construction of a great Community Center, where common interests and not mere blood ties will bring members of all Families together.

America is the only World Power in which the Jews can have the privilege of helping to build a new civilization. The European Powers, we have already seen, have admitted Jews into the privileges of their States only as adopted sons of the State-Families. France gave its Jews equal rights only after they assured Napoleon that they were Frenchmen (this is a quasi-ethnic term) differing from other Frenchmen solely in the matter of faith. Germans in all respects (this, too, is quasi-ethnic) except in religion, is an old formula of German Reform Judaism that German Jewish immigrants sought needlessly and unsuccessfully—at least so far as non-German Jews are concerned—to imitate in America. A creative Judaism is hardly to be expected in these parts of the Diaspora. German, French and probably even Russian Judaism will have to depend on the Jewries of other lands for vitalization. Great Britain, again, is more like America in its hospitality to the ideas of all the

Digitized by Google

Families of mankind, but the civilization of each part of the British Empire is less plastic than that of America. Thus England already has its traditions in literature, art, music, the drama. In America all these elements of the higher life are in the making. Some day American civilization will be a wonderful product—but it will not be a mere sub-variety of English or German or Italian or Jewish civilization, but a new creation in which elements of all of these and more will be blended. Time alone can make the quantitative analysis, but there can be no doubt that a qualitative analysis will reveal some indispensable elements that we shall bring.

A Task for Our Jewish Youth

OF course, we must first master our own traditions and embody our ideals in our lives before we dare interpret them or offer them to America. In view of the Destruction to which Jewish life has so long been subjected, we must, first of all, reconstruct it. This reconstructive program in America is not a monopoly of Reform, nor of Orthodoxy, nor of Zionism nor of Assimilation—though it has something of the ideal of each. On its purely intellectual side, it finds its best expression in the Menorah movement. But it has also a religious side, and as many other sides as modern life has.

The task that lies ahead of the American Jewish youth is great, but the reward is magnificent. While serving America by giving his best, he will at the same time lay the foundations for the New Diaspora, with its New Babylon behind and its New Alexandria in front of the New Zion.

Nathan Isaacs

Digitized by Google

Some Pharisaic Delicacies

By Israel Abrahams

A FEW years back, the present writer had two quaint experiences in Jerusalem.

During the whole forenoon of a day near the Passover, he went the rounds of the poorest quarter with a Jewish doctor. The latter was a severe pietist of the olden Pharisaic order, but a fine fellow, some will say despite, others will prefer to say because of that. The round was heavy, and the doctor and his companion were unable to take lunch until a late hour. The doctor was obviously more than hungry, he was famished. The writer remonstrated with him for allowing himself to fall into so faint a condition. "But," protested the doctor, "I never break my fast till my round of these wretched folk is over. Were I full, how could I sympathize with the empty?" Indeed the doctor had for the most part written not prescriptions for medicines but orders for food. "What these poor souls needed," added he, "was nourishment, not drugs. And well I knew it from my own condition."

ISRAEL ABRAHAMS, distinguished scholar and man of letters, as widely and favorably known in America as in his native England, was born in London in 1858, and educated at London and at Cambridge. He succeeded Dr. S. Schechter as Reader in Talmudic and Rabbinic Literature at Cambridge University. He was one of the editors of the Jewish Quarterly Review for many years, and is the author of a number of notable books, including "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages", "Chapters on Jewish Literature", "The Book of Delight", and "Studies in Pharisaism."

This delicate sincerity was in fact a piece of antique Pharisaism. Aforetime, in Jerusalem, when public fasts were proclaimed under stress of scarcity, no man was allowed to lead in prayer unless he, too, had an empty larder at home.

The second experience occurred two days later. The writer then paid a visit of ceremony to the Haham Bashi, the head of the Sephardic Jews in the Holy City. It was the first day of Passover, and the Rabbi's salon was crowded. He received his English guest with Oriental courtesy, but offered no refreshments. The Haham apologized. "On Passover," he exclaimed, "it is my rule never to partake of food away from home. I cannot therefore invite you to eat in my house." In other words, since his scrupulosity as to the Passover diet made him decline to eat abroad, he refused to presume (as he might well have done) that I would recognize in him so superior a pietist as to consent to do with him what he would not do with me.

Digitized by Google

The Olden Pharisee Was a Gentleman

IT was a whispered confidence. The Haham Bashi would have been appalled at the suggestion of making a display of higher virtue. And his nicety, like the doctor's sensitiveness, had its roots in the past. Whatever else he was, the olden Pharisee was a gentleman. For one boorish Pharisee who thanked God for not making him a rustic, there was a whole group of more mannerly Pharisees who refused to boast that they were not as other men. After the fall of Jerusalem the Sanhedrin moved to Jabne. "There was," records the Talmud, "a familiar saying in the mouths of the Rabbis of Jabne running thus: I am God's creature, so is my fellow-man; my work is in the city, his in the field; I rise early for my work, he rises early for his; as he cannot excel in my work, so cannot I excel in his work. Dost thou indeed say: I do much, he does little [in the service of God]? Nay, we have been taught: It matters not whether one offers much or little, so long as the offerer directs his heart to Heaven!"

There is an apt illustration of this spirit in the story of that noted student and mystic, Simon son of Yohai, who fell under the displeasure of the Emperor Hadrian. To evade the imperial attentions, Simon and his son took refuge in a cave. A wonder happened. Hard by there sprang up a stream of water and a carob tree. Naked they sat up to the neck in sand, engaged in study the livelong day. They reserved their clothing for the hour of prayer; having prayed, they undressed again, to save their garments from attrition. In this manner they spent twelve years, when Elijah appeared to announce the death of Hadrian. Father and son thereupon emerged, and came across some men ploughing and sowing. "See," cried Simon, "how these fellows forsake the things of eternity, and busy themselves with the things of earth." Wherever their angry glances fell, flames burst forth. Then was heard a Daughter of the Voice saying: "Have ye come out to devastate My world? *Back to your cave!*" They returned, and remained in seclusion for another twelve months, the period appointed for the probation of the wicked in Gehenna. At the close of the year the Daughter of the Voice again spoke: "Ye may now come forth!"

Etiquette and Morality

IN one sense the examples quoted may be said to belong to a code of manners. It was certainly a striking feature of Rabbinic etiquette to avoid hurting other people's feelings. It went far beyond mere etiquette, however. To bring pallor to a man's face—the Rabbinic equivalent of our putting a man to the blush—was more than bad manners.

Digitized by Google

It was to shed blood. Pathetic is the self-humiliation of the Rabbi who jeered at another's ugliness. Such acts render their perpetrators not, as we should say, unfit for polite society, but as the Pharisees said, unfit for the life to come. The same Hebrew phrase which means good manners also means good morals. Thus the original and derived connotations of the Latin *mores* are combined in the Hebrew *derech erets*. To render food noisome was blasphemy as well as waste. For a man of parts to use foul language was comparable to a palace with an open sewer running through it. If you trod out a path in another's field, you were not only an intruder on his privacy, you were a despoiler of his property. Joshua son of Hanaya used such a path. "Is this a public way?" asked the little daughter of the owner. The Rabbi replied that it was a clearly marked track. "Yes," said the girl, "thieves like yourself have made it so." Discourtesy merges into dishonesty.

But it is not the purpose of this article to cite examples of Pharisaic manners as elements in morality. It is a tempting theme. Hillel bathed as a religious duty; he was keeping pure the body, created in the Image. The material delicacies which loaded the table of the olden régime were not more toothsome than the delicacies of table manners. Comparable with these, are the unique Pharisaic rules regarding the physical life of man, especially the conjugal intercourse of the sexes, rules of a wonderful refinement, in which the bodily and the spiritual are syncretized. Delicacies of this type were more than guides to decent life, they were part of the great law of holiness. All this, however, is rather off our present point.

"*Within the Line of Law*"

OUR present point is simply this. Pharisaism, whatever else it was, and it was much else, was a system of morality expressed as law. We are all familiar with the uglier side of this system, with its defects and dangers. They are attacked by the Prophets, assailed by the Evangelists, and (be it added) denounced by the Pharisees. But a more attractive side of legalism is far less known. Many think of the Pharisee as a legalist, but omit to remember that he carried his principle into the delicacies of sentiment as well as into the niceties of ritual. He derived the one as well as the other from the Law itself. To insure fulfilment of the law he erected fences, but he also broke down barriers. To avoid transgression he went *beyond* the law. But with the same object he also stepped *within* it. He established equity as part of law. "Within the line of law" is the Rabbinic description of the righteousness which tempers rights. The Pharisee carried this principle of action "within the line of law" to remarkable lengths. Beloved of God is he who does

Digitized by Google

not exact his full rights; beloved of man he who does not stand on his dignity. Abba the Priest always kept away from crowds, to avoid troubling the people to salute him. Another paid an unjust demand, rather than tempt his neighbor to swear falsely to his claim. Jerusalem, said a Rabbi, was laid waste because the judges decided by the letter of the law instead of passing "within the line." Thus, in the Pharisaic philosophy of history, it was a fatal, unforgivable offense to fail in that delicacy of touch which rarely goes with law, but did go with Rabbinic law.

The aged Rabbi Ishmael was on the road, and met one laden with wood. The latter put his burden down to rest, and then asked the Rabbi to help him to reshoulder it. Now, being old, Ishmael was not bound by law to help the wayfarer. Nevertheless, as he could not render help, he purchased the wood, for, says the Talmud, Ishmael acted within the line of the law. We are told of the judge who would decide in favor of the richer litigant, and then refund the money to the poorer out of his own pocket. Thus did he fulfil the text (II Samuel viii 15) which describes David as executing "justice and charity," for so the Rabbis translate the phrase. Justice to the rich, by delivering a true verdict, charity to the poor, by making his loss good.

Scrupulous Justice

PRINCIPLES of this type led to a wide expansion of the concept of bribery. No Rabbi might sit as judge when either litigant had rendered the Rabbi the slightest service. Abba Areka refused to try a case which involved the keeper of the Inn at which the Rabbi sometimes lodged. Mar Samuel followed the same course when one of the litigants was a man who had helped him to alight from a ferry. When Ishmael's gardener, for the latter's own convenience, carried to town for the Rabbi's use a basket of the Rabbi's own fruit on a Thursday instead of on the usual Friday, the Rabbi refused to try a case in which the gardener was a party. A man gave Rabbi Elisha the first shearings as his priestly due. He then brought his case. Elisha declined both the shearings and the case. The present writer was refused a hearing on a small ritual matter by the Cairo Rabbi because he had been introduced by a common friend. "I cannot," said he, "but be affected in your favor by my regard for him who sent you."

All this delicacy, as Prof. Amram well indicates, the Pharisees justified on *legal* grounds. For the text does not prohibit the acceptance of money; it forbids the taking of bribes. One may be bribed by other things than money. There is prejudice; there is friendship. A. was not permitted to attend court in fine clothes, while his opponent B. was

Digitized by Google

poorly clad. They said to A., "Dress like B. or provide him with a suit as good as yours." Appearances influence. "I never judge a student;" said one Rabbi, "for I love a student as my own soul, and no man is a competent judge of his own soul." "Judge not friend or foe," said another; "for in a friend one sees no evil, in a foe no good." There is besides usury a "dust of usury," subtle, often impalpable advantages of a usurious nature. In Pharisaic language, one must keep aloof from what is foul and from what seems foul. Yet there are numerous instances of fine refusals to put an evil interpretation on the suspicious conduct of others.

This refinement of feeling, and herein is its peculiarity, is a direct product of legalism. The case is stronger than has been so far indicated. For it is a refinement consciously derived from the Law itself. Amid his counsels to Moses, Jethro advises: "Thou shalt teach them the statutes and the laws, and shalt show them the way wherein they must walk, and the work that they must do" (Exod. xviii 20). One would expect, if the conventional view of Pharisaism were adequate, to find this last phrase developed into a system of practical ritual. But the Pharisaic exegesis was quite other. The "work that they must do" refers not only to law, but also to that which is "within its line," a phrase, as we have seen, of the most delicate significance. When, too, Wisdom is eulogized, in that he who subjects himself to her guidance, "may walk in the way of the good" (Prov. ii 20), Pharisaic exegesis tells us that the way of the good is the way that leads within the line of law.

A Code of Considerate Conduct

NEARLY akin to this conception is another, equally derived by Pharisaic lawyers from the law. They made great moral play with the term *oppression*. The Pharisaic Code of Law (the Mishnah) lays down this principle: "Just as there is oppression (imposition) in cases of buying and selling, so there is oppression in words. One shall not say to another: What is the price of this article? when he has no intention to purchase it. One shall not say to another who has repented: Remember thy former deeds. One must not say to descendants of proselytes: Recollect the deeds of your forefathers. For it is said (Exod. xxii 21): And thou shalt not vex, neither shalt thou oppress him." To these illustrations of the earlier Code, the later Talmud adds others. If a proselyte would learn the Bible, say not to him: Shall the mouth that ate carrion recite the words spoken from the mouth of Power? One who has no money must not cast his eyes on wares, thus raising in the vendor an unfounded hope. Where there has been a hanging in a family, do not speak of hanging fish in presence of a relative.

Digitized by Google

Very subtle is another closely allied idea. Supposing Ziggud knows of Tobiah's crime, but also knows that he is the only witness. If he bring the charge, Ziggud is punished. For he is well aware that a single witness is insufficient for a legal hearing, and under the circumstances if he tender a charge, he merely brings Tobiah into disrepute without opportunity of condemnation or acquittal by process of law. "Tobiah has sinned and Ziggud is flogged," ran the resultant and well-founded proverb. Using a beautiful phrase, which, were Schürer and the rest of the Germans right, ought never to have been on Pharisaic lips, Rabbi Judah characterized all these things as "matters *entrusted to the heart.*" Runs the text: "Ye shall not oppress one another, but thou shalt fear the Lord" (Lev. xxv 17). Oppression, wrong which is not penalized by the letter of the law, is a matter of conscience, it is part of that inner sin which the fear of God should cast out. "Stealing the mind" is another term for this type of offense. The worst thief is he who leaves another under a misapprehension. You must not pretend to open a new cask of wine for a friend's delectation, when you would have had to open it in any case. You must not advise a man (even though the advice is good) to sell his field, when you want to buy it. You ought not to invite a man to dine with you on a day on which, as you have good reason for knowing, he is already engaged. If you encounter a friend by chance do not let him imagine that you had designed to meet him.

These refinements, odd as some of them are, easily pass into magnanimity. The Pharisees are high in their praise of the heathen upon whom a delegacy of the Sanhedrin waited for the purchase of a gem for the High Priest's vestment. They offered their price, but the heathen refused to sell until his father, under whose pillow the jewel rested, woke from his sleep. The delegacy raised their price in vain. On the father's awakening, the bargain was completed. But the vendor refused to accept more than the price first offered. "I had made up my mind already to take what you tendered," he explained. Simon son of Shetah, to quote another well-known incident, bought an ass, and a jewel was found round its neck. He restored the jewel, saying, "I bought an ass not a jewel." All such things, where one party is cognizant of facts hidden from the other, are among the matters "entrusted to the heart," for which man is directly accountable to God. And he who comes well out of the test "sanctifies the Name."

"Flowers on the Stem of Pietism"

SUCH delicacies, some few illustrations of which have been cited out of hundreds, penetrate to the depths. Equally notable is their range. No aspect of life is left untouched. A man must not walk in his field

Digitized by Google

on Sabbath to observe what work needs doing on the morrow. The broken tablets, as well as the second perfect pair, were placed in the Ark; so a decrepit scholar who has forgotten his learning must not be without honor. Tell the truth and nothing but the truth, but 'tis no perjury to call a homely bride beautiful. And, in general, never decry your neighbor's bargain. No man must retain in his pocket a spurious coin, nor keep in his house an inaccurate measure. Pay your bills promptly; as the later sage put it, Go to bed without supper and rise up without debt. Over stolen bread beware that you utter no blessing to the Lord. If a man owes you money, avoid him; he will think you are thinking of the loan. Never fail of a promise to a child, lest he learn to lie; never strike an adult son, lest you tempt him to reprisals. Never use the crown of the Law for self-aggrandizement. Tarphon escaped from a dangerous predicament by declaring his identity, and regretted his act throughout his life. Remove thine own blemish first. Rabbi Jannai's tree overhung the street. So did the tree of X. The people brought an action against X. for trespass. The case came before Jannai, who deferred the hearing for twenty-four hours. Overnight he cut his own offending branches; next day he ordered X. to do likewise. It is significant that the Talmud, after recording the incident, thinks it necessary to inquire why Jannai had not sooner lopped off his branches. The answer is that he thought the public enjoyed the shade, but when they entered action against X. he realized that they considered it a nuisance.

Once Rabbi Judah said to his class: He who has eaten garlic, let him depart. R. Hanina rose and went out, not that he had so eaten, but not to shame him who had. Of Tarphon many stories are told which reveal his refined nature. He outdid Raleigh in courtliness. His mother once had to cross the courtyard barefoot. Under her feet Tarphon placed his hands. It is the spirit of the gift that counts. There were two sons. One fed his father on dainties and inherited Gehinnom. The other made his father grind the mill and won Paradise. For the former flung the dainties at his sire as to a dog. The latter sent his father to the mill, for millers were free from the royal draft (how modern it sounds!). The son remained at home and was taken.

Such a miscellany of familiar anecdotes and maxims could be indefinitely enlarged. But enough has been quoted. Much of it has been quaint. In a sense, a chapter has been written in the history of the curiosities of manners. But it is obvious that there is more in it than that. An aroma of the beauty of holiness hovers o'er it all. We have been enjoying the scent of flowers which grew on the stem of pietism.

Israel Abrahams

Digitized by Google

What the World Owes to the Pharisees

By R. Travers Herford

The Arthur Davis Memorial Lecture for 1919

(Concluded)

[In *the first portion of this paper, published in the June issue, Mr. Herford prepares the reader for the answer to his main question by pointing to the unbroken continuous existence of Judaism as a living religion through all the centuries of the common era to the present day. Thanks to this continuous vitality, Judaism has exerted an influence of priceless benefit to the human race in general and to Christianity in particular—a benefit but inadequately appreciated.*]

I PASS therefore from the first stage of my argument to the second, which raises the question, What was it which made that continuous existence possible, and enabled Judaism to discharge that thankless labor of beneficence which I have endeavored briefly to describe? I am confronted at the outset by problems of ethnology with which I am quite incompetent to deal. I shall leave such subjects as 'race persistence,' 'endurance of type,' and the like, wholly on one side, while fully acknowledging their importance. But it will not be denied that one element in the case, and an extremely important one, is the Jewish religion. I would go so far as to say it is the most important one. Without that I do not see how there could have been now a recognizable organism which could be truly called the Jewish nation, one which could not merely claim descent from but prove its title to continuity with its far-off ancestry in the Holy Land. This may be my ignorance, but I am sure that whatever may be the case in regard to other nations, in regard to the unique Jewish nation the factor of religion is all important; and it is with the study of that factor that I am at present concerned.

It is generally admitted that the Judaism which survived the break-up of the Jewish State in 135 C. E. was chiefly of one type; and that wherever it is found in succeeding centuries, Judaism has developed within the lines characteristic of this one type. I speak of development in the succeeding centuries, because I am not so ignorant as to suppose that the Judaism of the later ages was in all points the same as that of the Tannaim. The living stem of Judaism put forth new branches and new flowers such as the former ages had not seen. Maimonides left his mark deep and ineffaceable upon Judaism; which is only to say in other words that after his time it was in important respects different from what it had been before. Surely it was different after Jehudah Ha-levi had

Digitized by Google

sung to it, and Ibn Gebirol, and Ibn Ezra and the others of that glorious company; different, as the grey walls of some old castle are different before and after the rising sun has flung his rays upon them. Judaism was not left unmoved or uninfluenced by the rise of the Kabbala, or by the various pseudo-Messianic movements, or by the appearance of the Karaites in one age and of the Hasidim in another. Judaism since Moses Mendelssohn is very considerably changed from what it was before his time. And so of other influences that have affected it, as might be shown in detail. All this is true, but nevertheless it is also true that the main stem of Judaism preserved its original characteristics, as they were shaped and fixed in the centuries immediately following the great dispersion of the year 185.

"Talmudism"—the Form in which Judaism Has Survived

THE form then given to it, and the principles embodied in that form, are contained in the Talmud, and further illustrated in various ways in the cognate literature. And 'Talmudism' is a convenient name by which to designate the Judaism which survived and endured through the ages, even down to the present day. It is an accurate name, if, as I believe is the case, the principles and the authority of the Talmud, or rather of the Talmudic system, were never definitely repudiated however they might be differently interpreted, at all events until recent times, and even now not by any means universally. Talmudism, moreover, is a good word for its purpose; but those who use it should first make sure that they know what it means, and how much is implied in it. To contrast Talmudism with the Judaism which existed before it, as if it were a poor dry thing taking the place of the rich, full, flourishing possession of a nobler age, as at the present day is the custom of some, is to show but small comprehension of the Talmud and the ideals of the men who made it, however much learning may be displayed in reference to Apocalypses and the like which Israel, having no use for them, put on one side.

I will defer for the moment the attempt to show what Talmudism really meant, what was the ideal which was enshrined in it, in order to make this point, that it was Talmudism which provided the form in which Judaism did as a matter of fact survive all the dangers of the cruel centuries, perhaps the only form in which it could survive. Talmudism was therefore, if this be true, the direct means by which were secured for the world those various benefits of which I have already reminded you. The Judaism which survived may not be now, may not have been at any time, wholly and exclusively Talmudism, but without Talmudism, so far as one can see, it would not have been anything at all.

Digitized by Google

A Hard Protective Shell for the Treasured Spirit Within

ONE chief effect of Talmudism was to produce a kind of protective covering for the living spirit within, like the rough bark of the tree which protects the sap, or the hard shell of some otherwise defenceless creature. The discipline of command and prohibition, the dietary laws, the prescribed observances and abstentions which are characteristic of Talmudic Judaism, while they tended to emphasize the separation between Jew and Gentile, at the same time served as a wall of defence within which the Jew could live his own life, and especially his religious life. When Israel was torn away from his own land and his ancestral home, and cast forth to wander through the world, to face its pelting storms of persecution and its bitter winds of scorn, there was need of some protection to enable him to keep the life-blood warm in his veins. The teaching of the Talmud, and the daily and hourly practice of what it enjoined, served him as a mantle, outwardly rough and uncomely so that it would mark him an alien amongst those who were dressed according to the fashion of the world, but inwardly warm and comfortable, and a thing to be thankful for. The Christian onlooker jeered at the uncouth figure of the Jew, uncouth in his eyes both literally and figuratively, jeered if he did nothing worse; and seldom understood or tried to understand what might be wrapped within that outward garb, to him so repugnant and unseemly. And like the traveler in the fable, the Jew only wrapped himself the more closely in its sheltering folds. Indeed, I should think it likely, though I do not know, that Jews all through the centuries have, intentionally, shown their least attractive side to their Gentile neighbors, so as to keep safe from rude touch and profane curiosity the treasure of their hearts. If it were so, it was right and natural for the Jews; but all the more shame on those whose treatment made them do it.

Be this as it may, without the defensive covering which Talmudism provided it is hard to see how Judaism could have survived, how it could have avoided seeing its treasures of the spirit stripped from it and trampled under the feet of a careless or heartless world, cast like pearls before swine. But keeping safe those treasures, as he did, the Jew recked not if his Gentile neighbors thought him surly and unsociable or in other ways repellent. If they thought so, let them think so. Israel would hold on his way in spite of them.

That is one aspect of Talmudism, its outward appearance and the protective purpose which it thereby served. In its inward meaning it was very different; and of its inward meaning no Gentile had then, and not many have now, the slightest comprehension.

Digitized by Google

The Inner Essence of Talmudism: Two Noble Ideals

IT is a rash attempt to try and distil the essence of Talmudism so as to exhibit it in a single sentence; but I believe I am not far from the truth when I say that the inner meaning of Talmudism is unshakable trust in God and unreserved obedience to his declared will. This does not exhaust, still less account for, everything in Talmudism, but it lies at the heart of it all, and I believe there is nothing deeper and more vital in it than this. Of the two factors in the definition, the second is more distinctive than the first, though not more important, since both are essential. I mean that unshakable trust in God is an element in other religions; to some extent indeed in all religions, for without it they would perish. And yet I know not where else to look for such resolute and unfaltering trust in God, maintained by a whole people from generation to generation, as that which has kept alive the hope of Israel in its darkest days. It is not the Psalmist alone, who has had reason to exclaim: "Will then the Lord cast off for ever? Will he be favorable no more? Is his mercy clean gone for ever? Doth his promise fail for evermore?" Such a cry must often have escaped from Jewish lips, in all the ages down to our own; but Jewish hearts have never failed to respond to a greater word than that of the Psalmist—"Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." If Israel, as I said a while ago, is the stubborn nonconformist among the nations, he is also the unconquerable optimist.

But, to return to the definition I gave of the essence of Talmudism, I find in the second element that which is most distinctive of this type of religion,—"unreserved obedience to the declared will of God." The stress here is on the *declared* will of God. That will was declared in the various commandments and prohibitions, contained implicitly or explicitly in the divinely given Torah, either stated there in so many words or deduced thence by methods approved and deemed legitimate by those who had authority to decide. There is no question but that this is a perfectly definite and consistent theory, and it is not put out of court by the adverse opinion of those who have grown up under some different theory. The position on the lines of the Talmudic theory is quite clear and simple; God has made known to us what he would have us do; we will therefore do it, as exactly and as completely as we can. And the more we can extend the range of his declared will so as to include duties hitherto undefined, so much the more perfect service we shall render to him. That is a noble ideal, whatever the Gentile may say. It is not the only ideal; but those who follow what they conceive to be a higher one, may well ask themselves if they have been as faithful to their ideal as

Digitized by Google

Israel with his Talmud has been to his? The essence of *his* service was obedience, without question. It was enough that, as he believed, God commanded that he should do *so;* it was not his concern to know *why* God had so commanded him. Sometimes he could discern a reason; more often not, but whether or not, there was the divine command and he would do it, or count himself to have sinned if he did not do it.

And this, while it was a solemn responsibility, was also a joy; and not only that, it was an immense strength to him in times of affliction and trial. For when persecution came down upon him, and the future looked black before him, he could say: 'I know not why it has pleased the Eternal so to deal with his people; I know not when or whether brighter times shall come; but here and now, in this darkest hour, is his will to be done, this and that which he has commanded.' And many a sore and stricken heart has found relief in the doing of the instant duty, as an immediate reminder of God, the very present help in trouble.

Such then, if I have rightly apprehended it, was the inmost essence of Talmudic Judaism; that was the central core round which gathered all else which belonged to it. All that found expression in the Haggadah may be said in a sense to have leaned for support upon the strong stem of the Halachah, and without that support would have fallen a confused and tangled heap, to wither and die. But the two together, Halachah and Haggadah, grew and flourished, and all Israel rejoiced in the beauty thereof.

The Pharisees: the Builders of Talmudic Judaism

NOW Talmudism—whether it were the systematic development of a noble idea as I have described it, or the dry bones of a dead faith, which it is often thought to be, even by men who ought to know better—was beyond dispute the creation of one party alone of those which together made up the Jewish nation at the beginning of the common era. And this party was the Pharisees. Friend and foe alike admit that the Pharisees were the founders of Talmudic Judaism; and each recognizes to the full that the foundation was worthy of the founders. I leave to any who may stoop to it, the task of pursuing the lower line of the comparison, the deducing of the faults of the Talmud from the vices and defects of the Pharisees. I chose the other line; and, having shown what I believe to be, nay, what I know to be, the true grandeur of Talmudic Judaism as the development of a noble idea, I proceed to seek for the sources of it in the principles of the Pharisees, and in so doing pass to the third stage of my argument.

It is, as I have said, admitted on all hands that the Pharisees and no other were the real founders of Talmudic Judaism. The Sadducees

Digitized by Google

did not survive, as a party, the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple. The Essenes lived apart; and, however important in their own eyes and interesting as a type of contemporary Judaism, they do not seem to have had much influence as a class upon the subsequent history of the Jewish people, though it may well be that one or other of the Tannaim owed something to the Essenes. As for the probably very numerous types which made up the rest of the Jewish people, while some would be lost to Judaism, relapsing into indifference or casting in their lot with Christianity, yet it would seem to be the case that the large majority followed the lead of the Pharisees, they indeed being the only teachers left who had something to say, some counsel to give in that desperate hour.

Whether or not the mass of the people became in any technical sense strict Pharisees I do not know. But even in the time of Josephus it was common knowledge that the sympathies of the mass of the people were with the Pharisees, and there is nothing to show or even make it probable that they thought otherwise in the time of trial.

The Pharisees Saved the Whole of Judaism

WE have therefore to study the principle, the essence of Pharisaism, in order to see what it was which enabled it to create that Talmudic Judaism for the ultimate benefit, as I have shown, of the world at large. I come here upon ground which of late I have had rather frequent occasion to travel, and I ask your indulgence if I tell but a thrice-told tale. My excuse must be that without so doing I could not complete the case I have set out to establish, the proof of the world's debt to the Pharisees. At least, I will take up no time with refutation of the common opinion concerning them. I put all that on one side as irrelevant to the present purpose, and unworthy of any serious attention by those who know. It is of more importance to consider what the Pharisees stood for, and what in fact they accomplished; and those who attach weight to the common charges against them may reflect whether men who consciously pursued such ideals and realized them so far as they did, are likely to have been as black as they are still painted.

The Pharisees, then, were that element or party in the Jewish nation which survived the downfall of the Temple and the disruption of the state. It was they alone who maintained Judaism in being and handed it on as a living religion to future ages. This is not open to serious question, for there were no others to do it. But it is well to be clear as to what is implied, when we distinguish Pharisees and Sadducees and other types, one from the other. For them all there was, as their inheritance

Digitized by Google

from the past, a common ground of religious belief, not indeed expressed in identical doctrines, but a great tradition of allegiance to the one supreme God, enriched by the memories of the past; all the sublime teaching of the ancient Scriptures, not merely held as a tradition but confirmed by the present experience of God-fearing men. There was not one Judaism for the Sadducees and a quite different Judaism for the Pharisees; there was the same for both, only they regarded it from different points of view, and the Pharisees found in it what the Sadducees did not find. What that was I shall show presently; but the immediate point is this, that when it is said that Judaism survived under the form of Pharisaism, it was the whole of what Judaism contained which thus survived, it was not a mutilated deformed Judaism, bereft (as some think) of its best elements. It was *all there,* as it had been before, only it was held in a form given to it by Pharisaic principles. The stream of Judaism was turned into a Pharisaic channel, but it was the full stream that flowed there. If the Sadducees had survived, the same could have been said of them; namely, that what they had was also Judaism, and that for them it was contained in a form shaped by Sadducean principles. As the Sadducees did not survive, we are not further concerned with them. But the Pharisees did not part company with the Judaism of prophets and psalmists, to set up a new Judaism of the Rabbis. It was precisely the Judaism of prophet and psalmist which they treasured; and if they included the scribe in the list, that was only to add one more factor to the sum of those who had made Judaism the spiritual treasure which held their devout allegiance.

The Secret of the Success of the Pharisees

THE Pharisees, then, survived and carried on the continuity of Judaism; but why did they survive, and why did the Sadducees fail to survive? The Pharisees survived, in the first instance, because they had developed a type of Judaism which was not dependent on the Temple and its ritual, but had its roots in the Synagogue and the School. The Sadducees failed to survive because their organization depended on the Temple, and when that was destroyed their function was at an end. But that answer in regard to the Pharisees takes us only a little way. How was it that the Pharisees could thus develop their Judaism on lines which were independent of the Temple organization, so that it became capable of being kept safe and carried anywhere, when the time came? The Pharisees were able to do this because they were the only exponents of Judaism who discovered in it the principle of continuous revelation, the open communion with its divine source which alone could keep its springs from running dry.

Digitized by Google

When Ezra gave the lead, which was followed by the Scribes, and accepted by those who afterwards became the Sadducees and the Pharisees respectively, he did what in his time was the one thing needful to save the Jewish religion and the Jewish nation from extinction. The lead which he gave was capable of two developments, and in fact it received those two developments. The factor common to both was the Torah, the teaching given to Moses on Sinai, and contained in the five books called after him. On the one hand the Torah tended to become a dead letter, a monument of antiquity, the symbol of a religion which lived on its past and had no present means of communion with the living God. That was the tendency of the Sadducean type of Judaism, and if it had not been arrested, it would have strangled the Jewish religion altogether. On the other hand, and as it would seem, by way of protest and defence against this strangling process, the Torah was exalted as a full complete and inexhaustible divine revelation, no mere relic of antiquity but a well of life from which all Israel in all future ages would be able to draw. Not merely the written word but the oral tradition was held to be divinely revealed; and the same God who taught Moses was there in all succeeding times, to enlighten the minds of those who should study the Torah, and enable them to behold more and more of its sacred meaning.

The Key to the Whole System of Pharisaism

THIS conception of the Torah as a full and inexhaustible divine revelation proved to be one of marvellous fertility; and this is the key to the whole system of Pharisaism—a statement which will seem strange only to those whose knowledge of Pharisaism, such as it is, is gained from inspection from without and from a considerable distance. Yet in itself the statement is not only true, but quite natural.

For a religion, any religion, only rises to the height of what the human soul is capable of, when it arrives at the conception of a perfect revelation (not necessarily a final revelation), an open communion with God, such that worship and faith and aspiration are not limited by the forms inherited from the past, but are kept fresh by the inspiration of the present. There must be in any such highest type of religion some recognized source of divine revelation. One religion will differ from another in the form under which this idea is conceived and expressed, but the idea must be there. Orthodox Christianity expressed that idea in its conception of Christ. Pharisaism expressed it in its conception of Torah. In form, and in the consequent developments of the idea conditioned by the form, the Christian idea and the Pharisaic are as widely different and as sharply contrasted as it is possible for them to

Digitized by Google

be. But if Christianity stands on the height reached only by a truly spiritual religion, so also does Pharisaism; and for precisely the same reason. If I may put it so, the fundamental ideas of the spiritual life of the human soul are expressed in Pharisaic language on the one hand and in Christian language on the other; and while it is hardly, if at all, possible to translate from the one language into the other, the subject-matter, so to speak, is much the same for both.

The Pharisaic conception of the Torah as the full and perfect revelation given by God to Israel is that which explains and which alone explains, the subsequent development of Talmudism, and the continuous vitality of Judaism as a religion down to the present day.

Pharisaism Itself Lived On In the Religion Which It Saved

THIS is an interpretation of the meaning of Pharisaism, and is not so far as I know stated explicitly and at length anywhere in the Talmudic literature. But it is not on that account the less true. For it was not the way of the Talmudic teachers to compose treatises of theology or to frame a system of the philosophy of religion. They were concerned with details, and the principles which guided them in handling those details must be gathered from the study of their application to particular cases. As the result of such study as I have been able to make, I hold that the key to the entire Talmudic system is to be found in that conception of the Torah as a full and inexhaustible revelation, which was, if I may put it so, the unique discovery of the Pharisees. It was this alone which enabled them to discern and to preserve what was most vital in the Judaism of their time, and to carry it with them into exile, undiminished and unspoiled, and, if changed at all, only purged of its least valuable elements. Whatever Judaism has been able to do, in later ages down to the present time (and how much that was I indicated in the earlier portion of this lecture), there would have been no Judaism to do it unless the Pharisees had enabled it to survive in the great crisis of the nation's fate. And that, if it stood alone, would have been a priceless service, to be remembered with gratitude by later generations who might have diverged widely from Pharisaic ideas.

But it was not alone the act of one supreme crisis; Pharisaism did indeed win that sublime triumph over dire calamity, but Pharisaism itself lived on in the religion which it saved. In the Torah, the inexhaustible revelation, and in the Talmud, the partial expression of what had been revealed, in the Midrash, the fruit of devout meditation upon the sacred teaching, in the daily remembrance of the Eternal Father in their prayers, and the daily doing of his will in the small as well as the great

Digitized by Google

things, the whole life and thought of the Jewish people was laid out upon the lines which the Pharisees had drawn; and if the name ceased to be in general use, that was chiefly because no distinctive name was needed to describe a principle which was common to all.

The later developments of Judaism were not hostile to this principle. The poetry of Jehudah Ha-levi and his brothers in glorious song was not indeed in itself a result of Pharisaic principle. It was God's own gift, as it is to every true poet. But Jehudah Ha-levi was none the less entirely and passionately devoted to the Judaism of the Torah and Talmud. If he had not been, he would not have written the Cuzari. So of Maimonides, so of Bahya and a host of others. They found what they needed within the lines of Talmudic, that is of Pharisaic, Judaism, and their special message was not to controvert but to interpret and illumine it.

The Priceless Service of Pharisaism

THEREFORE the end of the matter is this, that for the many and varied and substantial benefits which have been wrought for it by the presence and influence of Judaism in its midst during all the centuries of Christian ascendancy, the world is indebted, directly and indirectly, to the Pharisees. Whether those benefits have been recognized or ignored, whether the presence of the Jew has been a constant and unwelcome reminder to Christians that there is another side to questions which they would fain consider to be closed forever, or whether the help of the Jew has been sought and used and then cast away with no word of thanks, the fact remains that the benefits have been conferred, the good has been done, clearly to be seen by the candid observer of human affairs though not discerned where prejudice and theological bias have blinded the sight and clouded the judgment.

I know not what the future may have in store, in these days of anxiety, indeed, but of wonderful hope and glorious promise. It may be that Judaism will strike out new lines and find fresh forms in which to enshrine its ideals. Did not Döllinger say that Judaism, torn from its old home, was reserved to be an instrument in the hand of Providence in the distant future? But if there is a Judaism now, able to rise to the height of its great opportunity, able, having done great things for the world, to do even greater, then that will be the fruit of its age-long martyrdom, its steadfast obedience, its undying hope. And what it has been, and what it has done for the service of humanity and the Kingdom of God,—*that*, in all its fulness, is 'what the world owes to the Pharisees.'

R. Travers Herford

Digitized by Google

Colloques Comiques

By Martin Feinstein

I

"Yossele Squats Like a Nipponese Buddha——"

YOSSELE squats like a Nipponese Buddha
Next to phlegmatic Yochan Yehuda,
Sharing the tailor-table between them.
"Yochan," he says, "I've heard and I've seen them;
Ich soll azay leben" . . . "Hm," says Yehuda,
Grunting his dubious faith in the Buddha.
Out on the sidewalk-pavements sound
Lugubrious shuffle and pat and pound,
Beating the broken marching song
Of unseen feet. "A phantom throng,"
Yossele thinks, and plies his needle;
"Something to schmooes with the beadle.
He's a fellow of intellect."
After a while he sits erect;
"Yochan," he says, "you're almost twice
As old as I am, and as wise
As David's son, who was your father.
But if you don't agree, don't bother
To tell me always I am a fool,—
It's hard for a young man to keep cool.
Maybe I'm wrong, but if it's so
There's many a better man don't know
What's right. Now, Yochan, listen, do,
To listen is virtue in a Jew."

Yochan Yehuda sits unmoved,
Waiting to have his virtue proved.
Only his needle keeps on darting,
Catching the woof, and then departing,
Lithe, and impish; so fancy woos
The solid cloth of fact, then rues
The mating. Over the bulky shears
Big-bellied and bandy-legged, appears
A wraith of setting sunlight, creeping
Softly out of the world, and weeping

Digitized by Google

Over her thin, spent glory. The rustle
Of silken linings, and then Yossel,
Nasal-voiced like a drab intoning
Chochim-Talmud, or the droning
Of sleepy bees, begins again:

"That's where I met them, in Clinton Hall.
Yochan, I wasn't afraid at all.
It was all so simple and very fine,—
Lokschen, and fish, and Carmel wine,
And flags, and songs of Palestine,
And so many speeches in a line.
Yochan, you should have seen me laughing;
Maybe it was the wine I was quaffing,
That made me happy; anyhow,
You know the Seder feeling; well now,
That's how I felt, like a king reclining
In royal company, and dining
Graciously. The next thing I knew
Yossele was making a speech there too,
A wonderful speech, you should have heard,
Sweet like the song of a little bird,
Sweet like the words of Shir Ha-Shirim.
Everybody listened, and whispered, 'Hear 'im?
That's Yossele the schneider. Ain't he grand?'
Yochan, I talked of the Holy Land,
Erez-Yisroel, and pioneers,
Till everybody was quite in tears.
I talked of Golus and Meshiach-Zeit,
Till everybody's face was sad and white.
I talked of Spring in Jerusalem,
And all I said so gladdened them
I kept on speaking for quite a while,
Fine as any maggid for point and style.
And then it was over. Now, Yochan, it's come
Like fever into my bones; I'm dumb
For words to tell you the way I'm feeling,
Always dumb, my whole soul reeling,
And all my body tingling, turning
To Erez-Yisroel; it's strange, this yearning,—
Yochan, you'll understand, you're cool,
You'll understand I'm not a fool."

"Hm," says phlegmatic Yochan Yehuda,
While Yossele squats like a Nipponese Buddha.

Digitized by Google

II

"Yankele Kept a Grocery Store——"

YANKELE kept a grocery store,
Called himself proprietor;
There was just about enough
Room for his tiny stock of stuff,
Onions, herring, cheese, and bread,—
(What do fine folk have instead)?
Dominated the atmosphere,
Eloquent of humble cheer,
Odorously sympathetic,
But tabooed by dietetic.
Like a medieval monk,
Driven from the world by funk,
Saves his soul in strict seclusion,
Builds a dream of hushed illusion,
Zealous for his own salvation,
Interferes with God's creation,
So within his grocery store
Yankele reigned proprietor,
Hid within his sanctuary,
Shined, a modest luminary,
Dreaded a customer as the devil,
Harbinger of outside evil,
Apprehended *she* might enter,
And before he could prevent her,
She would—she would—call him *dear*,
She might—she might—diurnal fear!
The trouble, friends, lay just in this,
Yankele shrank from a woman's kiss,
Was utterly cowed by a maid's ambition
To better Yankele's position
By marrying him.

The sisters grey
Work in their mysterious way,
Tying queer threads of life together.
What's the use in asking whether
This were not better or that more kind?
Love is deaf and dumb and blind.
While Yankele lived in strict blockade
Defying the wiles of a black-eyed maid,

Digitized by Google

Hardening his heart against each day,
Something within him snapped, gave way.
It had been raining the whole week long,
Warm and plunging, pattering a song,
Monotonous, queer, apologetic,
Reiterating a splenetic
Kink in the scheme of the universe,
Promising good things, likewise worse.
Gurgling streams ran in the gutters,
Wet hands rattled the broken shutters,
Curious voices whispered, chattered,
Rushed about in the wind and clattered;
Sibilant and persuasive.

Well,
What more do you think there is to tell?
Rosalie came like a breath from heaven,
Fresh and radiant, scattering leaven
Into the dark and damp recess
Where Yankele was playing love-man's chess,
His right hand against his left. He made
The last attack with a knight, then played
And lost a pawn. Reluctantly
He fingered the pawn, then turned to see
Rosalie mute.

"Well, Rosie," he said,
"What'll you have? Some fresh rye bread?
A couple o' herring? Why, what's the matter?
Can't you talk? You could always chatter
Plenty o' nonsense. A little cheese?
That's no way, for a lady to freeze
Into a statue! What's the joke?"

"Yankele, don't you remember the date?
It's still your birthday, tho' it's gettin' late.
Wouldn't it be lovely for you and me
To have a little party, with cake and tea,
Some nice fresh fruit, a little wine?
Now don't get mad. The treat is mine.
There's one thing more, I almost forgot,
I've brought you a present. It ain't a lot,
But the best I could bring. I couldn't afford
Much, considerin' the cost of board,
And the cost of keepin' one's self just so.

Digitized by Google

It ain't a lot, but who's to know
The worth of things when it comes to hearts?
The measure of life when love departs?
Who's to judge that it ain't a lot
When it comes to givin' the little you've got?"

There was a sudden clatter of chess,
Kings and queens, a royal mess,
Knights and pawns, upon the floor
Across the room, against the door.
A draft blew in, rain-washed and cool.

"Rosalie, sweetheart, would you marry a fool?"

Rosalie shone like the sun in glory,
And what she said completes the story.

Digitized by Google

A Revival of Jewish Music

By Joseph Reider

THERE are still people who require an apology from one who presumes to speak about Jewish music. They cling to the belief that the Jews never had a music of their own, but like parasites have fed on the tonal systems of neighboring nations. This, however, is not true if by music we understand not only the modern harmonic structures but also the everlasting and eternally youthful melodic foundation.

The Bible and the Talmud contain ample records of the tonal fertility of the ancient Jews, and it is a well-known fact that many Temple melodies were transplanted into the hymnal of the primitive Christian Church. These edifying airs may still be traced in many Gregorian and Ambrosian chants which are framed either in the grave and majestic Dorian or the sad and pathetic Æolian mode, so characteristic of the Orient. They are easily discernible in the liturgy of the Byzantine or Greek Church where the chant failed to progress as rapidly as in the Western Church, and where it still finds itself in the chrysalis stage of polyphony instead of the butterfly stage of harmony. Even a musical tyro can recognize very close kinship between the *a capella* style of the Oriental hierarchy and the *hazanuth* style of the eastern European ghettos: not only did both manage their liturgy without musical instruments of any kind, but even their scales and progressions are very often alike.

JOSEPH REIDER, an authority on the history and technique of Jewish music, was born in Volhynia, Russia, in 1886. He studied Jewish lore in Russia, and general literature and philosophy in Berlin and Göttingen Universities. He received his A. B. from the College of the City of New York in 1910, and his Ph. D. from Dropsie College in 1913. He has been instructor in Biblical Philology and Assistant Librarian at the Dropsie College since 1913. He has pursued special studies in the history and theory of music, with particular reference to Jewish music, for many years.

It is useless to speculate now upon what might have been the future of Jewish music had the Jews remained in Palestine and led an untrammeled existence there. As it was, Christianity seized upon the existing material and through centuries of ceaseless shifting and combination produced that magnificent framework of modern times which is justly styled "the youngest and greatest of the Arts." The Jews, isolated as they were in the ghettos and steeped henceforth in legalistic activities and mercurial pursuits, could no longer keep pace with this great development.

Digitized by Google

Nevertheless, retired like a marmot in his den, they continued to foster music in its melodic aspect, as may be seen from casual statements in medieval Rabbinic literature. Anyone who wants to convince himself that music was alive among the Jews during the Middle Ages should read the interesting chapter entitled "The Triumph of Music Over Its Opponents" in Leopold Löw's *Die Lebensalter in der jüdischen Litteratur* (p. 305 ff.). The love for music manifested itself in a number of ways. In the synagogue the Hazan (cantor) and his meshorerim (male choir) regaled the congregation with sad and pathetic airs, partly traditional and partly improvised and embellished with shakes, trills, roulades, and other fripperies of a questionable character. At home suffering and tantalized Israel, both young and old, gave vent to their grief in plaintive strains and heartrending threnodies. Moreover, instrumental music continued a chary and precarious existence through the activities of the so-called Klesmer, a miniature orchestra playing at weddings. An imposing figure in connection with the latter was the Marshallik or Badhan, who improvised both lyrics and melodies on the spur of the moment. It is unfortunate that these melodic productions were never written down and fixed forever through notation. We might have possessed a wealth of material serving to illustrate not only the state of mind but also the æsthetic taste of our people in those trying days.

The Slow Development of Jewish Music

IT is a fallacy to assume that this music, with all its poverty and one-sidedness, experienced no growth or development whatever until very recent times. Nor is it fair to refer to it as exclusively melodic or homophonic music. Like its Byzantine prototype it soon reached the stage of polyphony and initial harmony as far as these may be applied to the human voice. In the days of the Reformation choral song was the rule in western Jewish communities, and, like Hucbald, the Flemish monk, in the tenth century, Jewish precentors were evolving the *fauxbourdon* or *organum*, a kind of diaphony or discant consisting in one voice singing the melody while another voice keeps up a drone on one note, or possibly alternating notes, either above or below.

At the same time in Italy, where Jews fostered music even to the extent of establishing musical clubs and societies, Solomon de Rossi, a descendant of the famous De Rossi family of which tradition says that their ancestors were brought to Rome in the time of Titus, attempted, probably for the first time in the history of the Jews, to write music for the synagogue in an up-to-date manner. His compositions, as published by Naumbourg in 1877, are for four and eight voices and are written in the elaborate polyphonic style of Palestrina. It is known that De Rossi

Digitized by Google

intended a revival of Hebraic music, but he was steeped too much in the ecclesiastical modes of the Catholic Church to be able to adopt an independent style and a genuine mode of expression. There is nothing characteristically Jewish in his thirty-three canticles and anthems, and they could as well be chanted or played in a cathedral. Likewise there is nothing Jewish except the name in the so-called "Jewish Operas" of Antonio José da Silva, a baptized Jew from Brazil, born in 1705, who won great fame by popularizing the *Modinha* or Portuguese romance.

The real and genuine Jewish music, the spontaneous and self-evolved song, continued its oral existence until the middle of the nineteenth century, when some of the most important liturgical chants were noted down and developed by the great cantors Sulzer, Lewandowsky, Naumbourg, Aguilar, and many others. The secular tunes or folksongs, however, as being ephemeral and transitory, and more or less influenced by foreign environment, were neglected for another generation. Not that they lacked treatment altogether: attempts had been made to utilize them for the Yiddish stage which came into existence in Southern Russia and Galicia during the latter half of the last century. Especially noteworthy is the effort of Abraham Goldfaden, the first great Jewish theatrical manager, who unconsciously wove many folksongs into his widely known operas *Shulamith* and *Bar Kochba*. But this treatment by men who hardly had any notion of the canons of composition and whose interest was purely commercial was far, far from satisfactory and anything but exact. The scientific construction of modern times was still wanting.

The Awakening of Interest in the Folksong

BUT times change. With the rise of Zionism and the regeneration of the Jews, the self-effacement of the days of emancipation gave way to a self-consciousness which strove to express itself in many ways, not the least being musical self-expression. Jewish artists and musicians, taunted and ostracized in European circles because of their physical features and racial characteristics, turned to their own people for inspiration and appreciation, and, after due study of the psychic traits and spiritual nuances of the sleepy giant, discovered that he, too, possessed ideas and ideals worth dreaming and singing about. As soon as this was realized a search was instituted here and there for an idiom appropriate enough for the expression of Young Israel's aspirations, and a desire grew up among young artists to found, in accordance with the spirit of modern times, a national school of Jewish music. The plan is still in the experimental stage, but enough has been done already to deserve our attention to its various phases and to warrant its auspicious consummation.

Digitized by Google

It is evident that no really national school of music can exist without the folksong. It is the national or popular songs that reflect the peculiar characteristics of a people, its mental state and temperament, its passions and emotions, its innate qualities and defects, its woe and weal, its dreams and ideals. This self-revelation is accomplished by various means, among them being a peculiar time and rhythm, a unique scale progression, a striking cadence, and certain other traits too complicated to enumerate here. It is due to these apparently insignificant differences that the German folksong is characterized by strong sentimentalism, the French by light cynicism, the Italian by exaggerated lyricism, the Spanish by passionate explosion, the Russian by woeful resignation, the Ukrainian by hedonism and absolute joy, the Afro-American by melancholy and nostalgia. And when a composer wants to stamp his music as national he must employ the folksong of that particular nation as a basis or theme for variations. This principle is not new. It was Father Eximeno who enunciated it in the eighteenth century in the following statement: "It is on the basis of popular national songs that every people must construct its artistic system." In fact we find Beethoven introducing Russian tunes into his Quartets dedicated to Prince Rasumowsky. Rossini does the same in his highly successful opera *Il Barbiere di Seviglia.* Gluck employs in his ballet *Don Juan* a popular and well-known Spanish fandango, i. e., a rapid dance in triple time, which was afterwards used by Mozart at the end of the third act of his opera *Le Nozze di Figaro.* The serenade in Mozart's *Don Giovanni* is said to be an Italian popular air. Even the prolific Handel was not deterred from laying hands upon ready material when it suited his purpose, as may be seen from the fact that the theme of the sweet Pastorale in his *Messiah* was derived from the Pifferari, Italian peasants, who during Christmas sing their pastoral songs in the streets of Rome and Naples before the shrine of the Holy Virgin. Weber likewise, in the first act of his *Oberon,* introduced an Arabian melody which was brought from the East by the well-known traveler Niebuhr; and in the third act he made use of a Turkish dance-tune which had previously been published in Laborde's *Essai sur la Musique.*

But these were only isolated cases, executed as a rule without consciousness and almost always without a definite plan or tendency. The real propaganda for the nationalization of music and consequently for the utilization of the folksong in larger compositions began towards the middle of the nineteenth century, with Glinka in Russia, Moniuszko in Poland, Smetana in Bohemia, Erkel in Hungary, Grieg in Norway, and Söderman in Sweden. These men enlisted their lives for the benefit of the songs of their own peoples, thus creating national schools of music all over eastern Europe, which still constitute a powerful stimulus towards

Digitized by Google

truthful and forceful expression as opposed to the artificial vehicle of the great intellectual composers of western Europe. This nationalistic tendency which has given us some of the most beautiful compositions in the world repertoire promises to be the most dominant and effective throughout the twentieth century.

The Folksong Must Be the Basis of Jewish Music

TAKING all this into consideration, it becomes clear that Jewish music, to be distinctly Jewish, must be based on the Jewish folksong in its various ramifications. This folksong, neglected for two thousand years, must be resuscitated and become the cornerstone of the new edifice. And it is right here that signs of a revival have been noticeable of late years. A number of efforts have been made to gather up Jewish songs and edit them in attractive shape. The great collection by S. M. Ginzburg and P. S. Marek, entitled *Jüdische Volkslieder in Russland* and published in 1901 in St. Petersburg, contains 375 Yiddish songs picked up in the ghettos of southern Russia. Here in America Platon Brounoff has harmonized a number of Yiddish songs imported to the East Side from across the seas. Another instance is Dalman's *Jüdisch-deutsche Volkslieder aus Galizien und Russland* (Berlin 1891). However, the most remarkable collection is the great corpus of Jewish songs in the Orient now in process of publication by A. Z. Idelsohn of Palestine. Idelsohn is a graduate of the Berlin Conservatory and has been teaching music in the school of the German Hülfsverein at Jerusalem for a number of years. While in Palestine he made a thorough study of the Jewish folksong, both synagogal and secular, and now, with the help of the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaft in Vienna, the Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin, and the Zunz-Stiftung of Berlin, he is on the way to publishing his work in six volumes. The first volume dealing with the songs of the Yemenite Jews appeared in 1914; the succeeding volumes will treat of the songs of the Persian, Babylonian, Syrian, Spanish-Portugese, and Moroccan Jews. It is also interesting to know that Idelsohn, unlike other collectors, employs strictly scientific methods, such as a phonograph apparatus with plates for melodic impressions, yielding very exact results. Besides these larger collections there are numerous instances of smaller editions of single songs or groups of songs.

In Europe, particularly in the eastern parts comprising great Jewish populations, there has been marked activity. Beginning with the twentieth century, folklore societies have been established in Germany, Russia, and Austria, for the purpose of collecting the many folksongs scattered in the fast fading ghettos and preserving them in notation

Digitized by Google

for permanent use. Hundreds and thousands of historically important and æsthetically beautiful songs have thus been saved from oblivion. But for these efforts who knows whether we could now sit comfortably in a concert room and bask in the sombre and melancholy strains of such songs as "Sehnsucht", "Avram, Avram", or "Otvorite vorota". Moreover, societies of musicians have been established for the harmonization and concert performance of these songs. The most noteworthy of these are the Verein zur Pflege hebräischer Musik in Berlin and the Society for Jewish Folk-Music in Petrograd. At the head of both institutions are musicians of high repute and acknowledged masters of composition, whose zeal is tireless and whose aim is to do for the Jewish song what Schubert, Schumann, and Franz have done for the German song. Outside of these organized efforts there are individual attempts to further the folksong, such, for instance, as was carried on by that unparagoned German-Jewish monthly, *Ost und West* of Berlin, during the last years of its brief existence. In its pages may be found settings of many songs by Arno Nadel and other young composers of Berlin.

The Appeal of Jewish Music to Americans

HERE in America a manifold activity is being manifested in artistic circles which hitherto had kept aloof and even deprecated such efforts. It is no longer surprising, in fact it is becoming customary and even fashionable, to include a Jewish number in the program of great artists, most of whom, curiously enough, are of Jewish extraction, though generally styled Russian, Bohemian, Hungarian and American. To mention but a few: Alma Gluck has endeavored to popularize Ravel's version of that exquisite little gem *Meierke, mein Sun, un weisst du vor wemen du steihst?*, while her gifted husband, the violinist Efrem Zimbalist, created a furore with his arrangement of the *Danse Juive*. The organist and composer Kurt Schindler and his Schola Cantorum, a chorus of 175 singers, mostly Gentiles, make it a point to render in public concerts such genuinely pathetic and deeply stirring songs as *Eili, Eili, lomo asavtonu?* and *Avrahm, Avrahm, Batjka nash*. Elizabeth Gutman of Baltimore carries throughout the country the message of our Chassidic songs, some of which, like *Macht der Chossidl*, have become popular even among non-Jews. Others who render substantial help in the elaboration and propagation of the Jewish folksong are J. Medvedieff, Platon Brounoff, Henry Lefkowitz, Henry Gideon, Pinchos Jassinowsky, and Morris Clarke. Our religious song is likewise fostered by special societies, such as the Cantors Association of the United States and the recently formed Zimrath Yah Society of New York, whose purpose is to give sacred concerts at stated intervals and thus popularize the synagogal melodies of great antiquity.

Digitized by Google

This in itself is an unusual phenomenon. Time was when Jewish songs were looked upon as trivial and monotonous, insipid and jejune, at best as soft-livered and lackadaisical melopæias of doubtful origin and eclectic ancestry. It is enough to recall the verdict of Voltaire in the sixth letter of the Dictionnaire: "Retournez en Judée le plus tôt que vous pourrez . . . vous y exécuteriez à plaisir dans votre détestable jargon votre détestable musique" (Return to Judea as soon as you can . . . and there perform at leisure your abominable music in your abominable jargon). The more recent indictment of Jewish music by Wagner is well known. Wagner contends (*Das Judenthum in der Musik*) that the tendency of music by Jewish composers like Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer is to be sweet and tinkling without depth, effeminate and enervating, horizontal rather than vertical, flat and superficial. However, even the æsthetic taste is subject to evolution and the law of mutation. As was stated above, the latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed the triumph of nationalism in music, particularly in the countries of eastern Europe, where the folksong partakes of Oriental characteristics. Side by side with this the process of importing Oriental tunes to western Europe, auspiciously begun by Félicien David, was continued by Salvador-Daniel, Saint-Saëns, and others, whose fancy was struck by the peculiar scales and exotic rhythm of these songs. In this way Europe and America developed a taste for Oriental and likewise Jewish songs, which, garbed in a harmonic guise, lose much of their exoticism and bizarrerie. Besides, there is more tolerance now and a willingness on the part of one people to try to understand the musical idiom of another, and it is freely conceded now that the music of almost every nation has charms which we can appreciate if we enter into its spirit without bias or prejudice. Hence a musical program of purely Jewish compositions, lasting approximately two hours, no longer shocks a metropolitan audience as it would have done years ago.

The Folksong of the New Palestine

IT is also gratifying to see that the Jews do not rest merely on the laurels of the past. While this work of summarizing two thousand years of song is being carried on in the Occident, a new species of Jewish folksong is being developed in the Orient, in the cradle of the Jewish race, on the plains of Sharon and on the hills of Judea. As might have been expected, this new song of the colonists in Palestine, while retaining the form of the old songs, has an entirely different content, resounding with the gay notes of a new care-free life. It is no longer sad and gloomy, plaintive and melancholy, cooing and droning, but rather firm and manly, joyous and hopeful, brimful of verve and resilience, elasti-

Digitized by Google

city and sinuosity, and buoyancy and warmth. A good illustration is the harvest song known as *Po beerez* which, on account of its popularity, has been carried even to the American shores and in Zionist circles vies with the famous *Hatikva.* Though in the key of A flat minor, it is surcharged with enthusiasm and joy of life, and lacks even that note of yearning which is so evident in the melody of *Hatikva.* Other neo-Palestinian songs, as exhibited in Idelsohn's collection entitled *Shirim,* partake of the same characteristics. Their outstanding feature is a perfect melodicity found only among the Mediterranean peoples. From these harbingers of song it is easy to foresee what the future holds for us in Palestine by way of a national music.

(*To be concluded*)

Digitized by Google

Religion and Nationality

By Leon Simon

(Concluded)

[In *the preceding instalment of this article, printed in the June issue, the author describes the gradual "falling behind" of religious ideas as a race advances toward "nationhood," until an open antagonism becomes manifest between religion and nationality. In modern Europe this has meant the thrusting aside of Christian ideals by national aspirations. Even the Bible cannot exert its spiritual and moral influence upon modern society because it is looked upon as an exclusively religious book. For the Jews, on the other hand, the Bible has always been a national as well as a religious book.*]

THERE is evidence enough in the Bible that the God of Israel was conceived originally as a tribal god, having a specific name of his own, standing in the same relation to Israel as that in which the gods of other tribes stood to them, and fighting for his own particular tribe just as the gods of other tribes fought for theirs. As always in primitive times, god and tribe were indissolubly bound together. Now this close partnership between the god and the tribe involved ordinarily that when the tribe was conquered the god also was conquered, and gave place to the god of the victorious tribe. But with the people of Israel it was different. They were not strong enough materially to secure themselves against the more powerful nations by which they were surrounded. But their God, Jehovah, did not fall with them. They came to regard him as not only their god, but the God of the whole universe; they placed in his hand not only their own destiny, but also that of the very nations which for the moment were triumphant over them. Hence no reverse to the nation could be a reverse to Jehovah; and, on the other hand, the permanence of Jehovah secured the permanence of the nation. The national overthrow could not be more than temporary, because the national God, who was also the universal God, remained unaffected by it, and he must one day restore his own people to their rights. Thus out of the struggle for their national existence the Jews developed a universalistic theism without losing hold of the earlier conception of the tribal deity.

Jehovah is Both a National and a Religious God

IT is only if we regard the development from tribalism to universalism in Jewish history as having come about by some such process as this that we can understand the extraordinary way in which tribal and

Digitized by Google

universalistic conceptions are interwoven in Judaism. The mere retention of a specific name for the deity is of course a survival from tribal religion. If the universal God of later Judaism were nothing but a universal God, we would expect the name Jehovah to disappear. But it does not disappear, because the God of the world does not cease to be the god of the tribe. The two are made one by the chain of historical development within the national life. "Hear, O Israel; Jehovah is our God, Jehovah is one": this is the Jew's assertion of that monotheism which has become the fundamental creed of his religion. But the statement is not at all a statement about God, about a universal God. It is a statement about Jehovah, about *our* God, about the primitive god of a tribe. So again in the Ten Commandments: "I am Jehovah thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage: thou shalt have no other gods before me." It is not a universal God who claims acceptance, but simply the tribal god, who emphasizes his tribal character by associating the assertion of his god-head with a reference to the history of the tribe.

And yet the Ten Commandments are regarded by the European nations, at least in theory, as a moral code of universal and abiding value; and a religious organization which used to exhibit biblical texts for the benefit of those who traveled about London chose the following text as one means of propagating belief in God; "I am the Lord thy God: thou shalt have no other gods before me." This mutilated text, with the reference to the exodus from Egypt carefully omitted, reveals in a flash the whole difference between the Jewish and the non-Jewish attitude to the universal God. The God of Judaism is universal, is the God of everybody, and his special connection with Jewish history is an irrelevance for everybody—except the Jew. But for the Jew there is no God except the one who brought him out of Egypt, who has been with him and grown up with him, if one may so put it, throughout the course of his national life. The omnipotent ruler of the universe is still the Jehovah who had at one time to compete with Baal and Chemosh. Such a conception will not stand logical analysis: it is a combination of contradictory ideas. But while a religious dogma, if it is to be accepted, must be capable of formulation in a statement free from internal contradictions, one does not expect to sum up the living spirit of a nation in a formula; and Judaism, the attitude of the Jewish nation to its God, is not so much a religious belief in the modern sense as the expression of a national character reacting to the various forces which the nation encounters in its career.

As the national morality of the Jews, like that of any other nation, is the result of this same reaction, it follows that there is no conflict in

Digitized by Google

Jewish history between religious and moral development, because the two are one. Any ethical advance which the developing moral consciousness of the nation demands is accompanied and ratified by an advance in its conception of God. The same God who at one stage of the national history demands the ruthless extermination of the Amalekites is conceived at a later stage as rebuking his angels for exulting over the destruction of his creatures, the Egyptians, in the Red Sea. The God of vengeance becomes also the God of justice and mercy. The demand for moral perfection is expressed in the injunction to the nation to be holy as its God is holy. Moral ideas and religious dogmas do not get out of harmony, because both are produced by the national spirit in a single process of evolution.

The Dogmas of Judaism are National as Well as Religious

IT is often said, indeed, that Judaism has no dogmas. This statement is not true as it stands. The unity of God is a dogma; the divine origin of the Law is a dogma; the future coming of the Messiah is a dogma; and so forth. But there is this peculiarity about the dogmas of Judaism: they are as much statements about the Jewish people as statements about God. The one God, as we have seen, is Jehovah, who brought the descendants of Abraham out of Egypt; it is his unity, his omnipotence, that is asserted, and not merely the existence of a being with these attributes. The revelation, again, was not the communication of an abstract truth to an individual seer; it was the appearance of Jehovah before the whole people, and marked the beginning of their national existence. And the Messianic age means for the Jew not merely the establishment of peace on earth and good will to men, but the universal recognition of the Jew and his God. It is another assertion of the eternity of the nation. Dogmas such as these are not simply the articles of faith of a church, to which anybody may gain admittance by accepting them; they are the beliefs of a nation about its own past and its own future.

It is true that Maimonides in the twelfth century formulated the Jewish creed in thirteen articles, speaking of God throughout as "the Creator," and omitting all specific references to Jewish history, and that his articles appear in the Jewish liturgy in a form in which they might serve as the creed of a church with no national attachment.* But

*Ahad Ha-'Am has pointed out that the inclusion of the two last articles (those relating to the Messiah and resurrection) must have been dictated subconsciously by Maimonides' national feeling. See his essay on Maimonides, *The Supremacy of Reason* (published in English translation as No. 2 of the Second Series of Zionist Pamphlets, 1917), pp. 42 sqq. But it remains true that in the formulation of these articles there is no explicit reference to the Jewish nation.

Digitized by Google

Maimonides certainly did not intend that acceptance or rejection of his articles should determine whether a man was a Jew or not—the mere idea is an absurdity. And it is significant that his articles were attacked by other Jewish thinkers, not only in detail but also in principle, and that, though they have found their way into the Jewish liturgy, there was never any possibility of their being accepted as a binding creed in the sense in which Christianity knows binding creeds.

How far our nation has always been from fettering itself in purely theological or metaphysical questions may be gathered from the fact that, while belief in the creation of the world has generally been regarded as fundamental to Judaism, there have been eminent Jewish thinkers who have held the contrary Aristotelian doctrine of the eternity of matter. An interesting light is thrown on the whole question of the place of dogma in Judaism by a statement of Maimonides which implies that if he had accepted this theory of Aristotle, he could have explained away the passages in the Bible which seem to conflict with it. And of course the habit of excommunicating people because they hold heretical ideas is foreign to Judaism. Maimonides himself was bitterly attacked for his *Guide for the Perplexed*, in which he attempted to reconcile Judaism with Aristotle's philosophy, so that among strictly "orthodox" Jews the book is banned as heretical to this day, and many a living Jew who was brought up in the Ghetto will recall how he read it by stealth. But Maimonides remains none the less one of the greatest of Jewish teachers, and nobody would suggest that his other books should be consigned to oblivion because this one is tainted with heresy. More than that: the heretical *Guide for the Perplexed* has probably had at least as great an influence on Jewish thought as its author's more orthodox works.

In the case of Spinoza, again, it is at least probable that the Jews of Amsterdam hastened to excommunicate him only because they were afraid that otherwise their Christian neighbors would make them suffer for a heresy which was more dangerous to Christianity than to Judaism. It may be said in general that our people does not accept or reject its thinkers according as they are or are not loyal to established dogmas. It is the national instinct of self-preservation—often, no doubt, acting unconsciously—that determines what modifications of doctrine or of practice can be admitted. Is this book, this movement, this proposed reform going to make for or against the maintenance of the national separateness of Israel? That is the question which has to be answered. And in a sense the answer comes automatically. For any movement which tends to the breaking-down of barriers will carry those who follow it away from their people into the world beyond; and the remnant who survive as Jews will be those who manage to cling to the right spiritual

Digitized by Google

defences—that is to say, to those beliefs and practices which are calculated to maintain their national separateness. This is the law of natural selection as applied to Judaism.

The Jewish Ceremonial Code Is More than a Religious System

IT is in response to the national instinct of self-preservation that we Jews in exile have woven around our belief in a universal God an all-embracing web of ceremonial practice, which for the best part of two thousand years has been at least as essential to Judaism as any particular religious belief. For the salvation of the individual soul a set of dogmas and moral rules may be enough; but if a nation wishes to preserve itself after it has lost the ordinary attributes of nationhood, it must have a distinctive mode of life. It goes without saying that the characteristic Jewish mode of life has come down to the present day as something specifically religious. For the Jew took with him into exile nothing but his God and his Law, and the development of his national life had to proceed in a single channel. With parliaments and armies and navies, with the making of roads and railways, with the development of styles of art and architecture, with the devising of improved mechanical means for the satisfaction of human wants—with all these things the Jewish nation as such has had nothing to so since the dispersion. The national energies had to find their outlet in the working out of a scheme of life which should preserve the identity of a nation without a territory or a parliament or a gun or a ship to call its own. And nowadays, when we place parliaments and guns and ships in one half of life, and religion in the other, we naturally think of the system so worked out as a religious system, because it is not a political system. But obviously there is no direct connection between the religious consciousness of modern times and a rule of life which embraces—not as optional customs, but as essentials—such prescriptions as the dietary laws of Judaism; and the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth cannot, one would think, be delayed by the introduction of organs into synagogues, or by the substitution of Sunday for Saturday as the religious day of rest. And yet it is in matters such as these that the Jewish people as a whole is most tenacious of its traditions.

To look at the same fact from the other end: if the Jew in Europe became so attached to the yellow badge, which was at first forced on him by his alien masters, that he clung to it long after he was at liberty to give it up, as though it had been really a part of his tradition, this means that we must look for the source of the Jewish mode of life, though we may call it "ceremonial," in something which is not denoted

Digitized by Google

adequately by the term "religion." The persistent objection of the Jew to eating pork, no less than the more transitory objection of the ghetto Jew to a short coat, is to be referred not to an individual spiritual experience of the kind that we call "religious conviction," but to that deep-rooted instinct which makes him insist at all costs on being something different from his surroundings—an instinct which is religious as well as national only because the nationality of the Jew is inseparable from his national God.

How the Jews Have Saved Their Identity as a Nation

THE western Jew, no doubt, tries to draw distinctions between custom and custom. Thus the so-called "reformers" would make the Bible the only source of Jewish religious law, and would reject all later accretions; and among "orthodox" Jews there are some—though these are scarcely a defined sect—who would like to go back as far as the Talmud only, and to discard what is of later origin. But both these parties are drawing artificial distinctions: they are both false to the idea of continuous revelation, which is one with the idea of the permanence of Israel as a nation. The Bible represents one stage of Jewish evolution; the *Shulchan Aruch*, the complex code of the sixteenth century, represents another. In either case the nation is expressing, in a manner conditioned by the circumstances of the time, that attitude to life which is the essence of its nationality; and in so doing it is building for itself a bulwark against the external enemy. The buildings have not all the same permanent value; but they all serve the same end for a longer or shorter time.

Thus it is misleading to speak of the Jewish system of life as a religious system if we are using the term "religious" in the sense in which it is ordinarily taken. What in fact the Jewish nation has been doing during the last two thousand years is only a continuation, under different conditions, of what it was doing before the Exile. It has been preserving its identity as a nation, which no merely physical weapons could have secured, by means of spiritual defences—that is, by turning its national-religious idea to that use which circumstances dictated, ever adapting and developing that idea and its consequences under the stress of changing conditions, to the end that it might live. This struggle for life is essentially the struggle of a nation which desires to breathe freely and to express itself fully as other nations do; it is not the endeavor of a church to spread its own religious doctrine. But the Jewish nation and its God are inseparable, and the Jewish God has become in the course of history the universal God; so that the national striving has inevitably a religious significance, in that it involves the periodical recasting not

Digitized by Google

merely of political and social institutions, but also of ideas which (when regarded apart from the history of this particular nation) are, in the strict modern sense of the word, religious.

Now it is obvious that the mere existence of a nation which claims to have a God of its own, and maintains itself by means of its God-idea amongst nations which maintain themselves by means of armies and navies, is an anomaly at the present day. We are accustomed to regard a man's nationality as determined by the State of which he is a subject, and his religion as determined by the church to which he adheres; and since we Jews have no State, it is an easy conclusion that we have, as Jews, no nationality. In the countries of Western Europe, where Jews have long enjoyed political rights, they are very ready to jump at this conclusion, and so to escape from an anomalous position. They profess to belong by nationality to the country in which they live, and to be Jews by religion only. But it follows from what has been said above that this attempt to reduce Judaism to a Church is doomed to failure. Judaism, robbed of its national basis, has no *raison d'être*. Its ceremonial practices become irksome and apparently useless in a form of civilized life with which they have no essential connection. Its moral teachings are displaced by the English or French or German morality which the emancipated Jew unconsciously imbibes with his English or French or German education. And as a set of metaphysical dogmas it has little appeal.

For Judaism has no message of salvation for the individual soul, as Christianity has: all its ideas are bound up with the existence of the Jewish nation. Hence those emancipated Jews who are most religiously minded in the modern sense, those who are most concerned with the salvation of their individual souls, tend to go over to Christianity, or to evolve a form of so-called Judaism which is only a stepping-stone to Christianity; and those who remain more or less true to traditional Judaism are just those whose cravings for individual salvation are least strong—so that with the outside world, for which spirituality means other-worldliness, the Jew gets the reputation of being a materialist. It is a strange sequel to the long history of a nation whose whole life has been a spiritual struggle, whose whole conception of nationality has for so long been bound up with the idea of the one God.

The Re-assertion of Jewish Nationality

DOES, then, the political emancipation of the Jew mean the disappearance of Judaism in lands of political freedom, or at best its continuance as nothing more than a meaningless survival? If we can

Digitized by Google

say "no" to this question, the movement which makes a negative answer possible is, naturally enough, a nationalist and not a religious movement. The national instinct of self-preservation expresses itself just in the re-assertion of that sense of nationality which the emancipated Jew is in danger of losing, and for lack of which his Judaism is in danger of becoming a dead weight. It has no use for a mere tinkering with religious ideas or practices in order to make them less glaringly out of harmony with a life of which they were never meant to form a part. It demands the more radical remedy of a restoration of Jewish national life in the land to which the Jewish nation is bound by its history and its religious associations.

The movement which aims at effecting this restoration is often described by its western adherents, whose ideas are European, as a political movement; and they are sometimes at pains to emphasize its non-religious character. And indeed, so long as we accept that distinction between "political" and "religious" which is true as applied to the European State, the movement must be pronounced political and non-religious. But this description is misleading, because the distinction does not apply to the Jewish nation. If one is justified in drawing inferences from history, and if it may be assumed that an ancient nation cannot change its character in a few generations, then it is legitimate to believe that the restored Jewish nation of the future will be distinguished precisely by having as the central principle of its being that element of the national life which European nations segregate as religion: in other words, that its main achievement will be to give, throughout the whole range of its national institutions, a new expression to that attitude to life of which the basis is the conception of a God at once national and universal.

What forms this expression will take, in the vastly altered material conditions of modern life, it is of course impossible to say. It may be that the Jewish nation, in the mere process of living and maintaining itself as a nation, will evolve fresh spiritual conceptions which the world, stripping them of their national context, will be able to accept (or profess to accept) as religious truths. But they will not be merely religious truths in the sense of being truths about God and the other world. For the Jewish nation itself they will have a distinctively national value: they will be the new spiritual defences by which the eternal nation will secure its permanence through yet another stage on the road to the final consummation.

Leon Simon

Digitized by Google

Blasco Ibañez and the Jews

By Isaac Goldberg

IT IS but one of the many proofs of Blasco Ibañez's cosmopolitan outlook that he should, in no less than three of his novels, have touched upon the Jewish race and embodied certain of his own ideas in more than one striking character. An intense passion for justice, and that broad tolerance and eminent fairness which always accompany such a passion when it is more than a pretence and a cliché, have been distinguishing attributes of his literary labors and his personal pursuits ever since he was thrown into prison at the age of eighteen for having penned an anti-government sonnet. Perhaps in these, his riper days, the author might be just enough to admit that the sonnet, if not the sentiments, may have deserved imprisonment. At any rate, it would seem that most Spaniards (and their Hispano-American brethren) are born sonneteering, and their verse has as often as not been turned to a political purpose. The famous author of "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse" knows what the inside of a prison looks like; upon his own testimony we are informed that he was sent thither no less than thirty times. He is not the first to have been imprisoned bodily because he refused to be imprisoned mentally. Unfortunately, he is not the last.

ISAAC GOLDBERG, whose biography accompanied his article on Yiddish Poetry in the February, 1919, issue, is one of Ibañez's translators and "interpreters" in America. He has translated several of his novels, including "Luna Benamor" and "The Argonauts (soon to appear). A study of "Vital Forces in Modern Hispano-American Literature," by Dr. Goldberg, will appear this fall. His knowledge of modern literatures in foreign languages is wide and first-hand. He has helped substantially to promote the appreciation of Yiddish literature by his translations, particularly of Pinski (see his translations of Pinski's plays in this issue ("Poland—1919") and that of August, 1918.

He is now fifty-two years old; in a laborious career that finds him still vigorous and at the height of his powers, he has managed to accomplish an amount of work that is astounding even in the face of the traditional Spanish versatility and productivity. He has travelled in Italy, the Orient and in South America, and in each case has left a record of his journey. He has translated a veritable library of books, ranging from the complete, unexpurgated Arabian Nights, through French history, universal geography and universal history; he has directed the editorial fortunes of a publishing firm that has been a great factor in the education of the Spanish working

Digitized by Google

class; he has even founded towns in the virgin lands of South America. And in addition to this, he has produced a history of the world war, not to speak of more than a score of novels, which, as he once wrote, are incidents in his daily activities. As if this were not enough to cram into the life of one man, he has lately undertaken, with great success, the editing of the best novels of all the modern literatures, to each of which he supplies a critical introduction. His overflowing energy is nothing short of astounding; rarely have the physical and the mental attributes of a man been so well balanced and so evenly productive.

Jewish Themes in Ibañez's Novels

WHAT has Vicente Blasco Ibañez treated in his fiction? He began with the so-called regional novel, in which he used his beloved Valencia as the background. With closer application to practical politics came novels in which were assailed particular vices of the nation, such as its subservience to the dogmas of the Church, its slavery to drunkenness, its passionate fondness for the barbaric sport of the bull ring. Then followed a period in which more attention was paid to the psychological element of the tales,—a phase that had already been forecasted in such a study as "La Maja Desnuda," so named from one of Goya's paintings. Because of the phenomenal sale of "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse" the American reading public is familiar chiefly with the later Blasco Ibañez, whose "Mare Nostrum" (soon to appear in English) will acquaint them with the writer's reaction to the German submarines, even as the first book made them familiar with his attitude toward the German army.

It is with the three novels which preceded "The Four Horsemen" that we are here concerned: "Los Muertos Mandan" (The Dead Command), "Luna Benamor", so named from the Jewish heroine of the tale, and "Los Argonautas" (The Argonauts). It seems that at this time in his novelistic career the author was more or less taken up with Jewish themes. I do not mean that this aspect absorbed him totally; but it was distinctly present, else it would not have made its appearance in three successive works, which are by no means among his least interesting productions.

The Power of Ancestral Influence

LET us take these in chronological order. "Los Muertos Mandan" and "Luna Benamor" appeared close together, in the same year, 1909. "Los Argonautas" came five years later.

The chief theme of the first of this trio is the great power exercised over the living by the dead. The dead are the great majority, not

Digitized by Google

only in numbers, but in the influence wielded by their thoughts and their acts. We imagine ourselves free of them; we gaze upon their graveyards and deceive ourselves with the notion that the world has seen the last of them. Vain thought! From out of their resting-place they reach their gaunt hands and guide our most important steps. Jealous of their rule, they raise their invisible arm before our every attempt to break the bonds of tradition; they are, in a very vital sense, more living than we. They command. And thus the hero of the novel, Jaime Febrer, although strongly led to marry the daughter of the wealthy Majorcan Jew, Don Benito Valls, cannot resist the ancestral influences that permeate the very atmosphere. He, a descendant of nobles, to wed a *chueta*, the daughter of a converted Jew! To be sure, he does not really love her; she appears to him in the guise of a rehabilitated fortune,—that is all. Perhaps, had the element of genuine passion been strong enough, the fetters of prejudice and religion would have been sundered by a single mighty effort. Jaime, however, marries into his own kind, although below his social station.

So much for the mere plot of the book, which teems with passages of genuine poetry. The author, having all his life fought against social, economic and political prejudices (which are merely so many distinct phases of a single underlying cause), is everywhere for the future as against the past. It is not strange, then, that he should be free of anti-Semitism, and that in the course of his labors he should express himself, however secondarily, upon the matter.

The Prejudice of the Ignorant Peasantry

THIS he does, in "Los Muertos Mandan", chiefly through Don Pablo Valls, the jovial brother of Don Benito, and the friend of Jaime; it is he, indeed, who is the first to dissuade Jaime from the project of marrying the Jewess. The third chapter is a history in little of the fate suffered by the converted Jews of Majorca, who despite their conversion were still segregated. Don Pablo is one of the few *chuetas* on the island who does not conceal his origin; he seizes every opportunity to discuss his race and his opinions; what to others is a title of opprobrium is to him a title of nobility. "I am a Jew, and what of that?" he asks. "A co-religionist of Jesus, of Saint Paul, of the other saints who are worshipped at the altars. . . . My forefathers were the patriarchs of the Bible!" . . . "In Majorca", exclaims the same fellow, a hardy ex-sea captain who is not accustomed to holding his tongue, "there are two Catholicisms—one for our people, and another for the rest."

The seaman, well informed upon the subject (as are all of Blasco Ibañez's characters in similar situations, reflecting the vast studies of

Digitized by Google

their literary creator) tells of the peasants who, but a few years before, were ready to declare that the *chuetas* were covered with grease and had tails; when these simple, credulous folk, in their enforced ignorance, found a helpless little Jewish child on the street they would actually disrobe him and see if they could discover the tail! To such extent does this prejudice go in the book that, as Pablo tells, when his brother first purchased his island home, and it became known that a Jew had dared to take actual possession of the property, he was persecuted by the populace. Further, "when the reaction followed the revolutions in Spain, the royalists, to celebrate their triumph," would assault the shops of the Jewish silversmiths, take possession of their wealth, and make bonfires of the furniture, "casting even their crucifixes into the flames. Old Jews' crucifixes; they must, of course, be false!" Here is an excellent touch, indeed, and all the more telling in that it comes from a Spaniard who has always been fearless in pointing out his nation's failings, as well as justly proud in indicating the essential greatness of the Iberian people.

This same Pablo Valls carries with him, for ready reference, a little book called "The Faith Triumphant", by the "blessed Father Garau." Lest his hearers forget, he reads from it the testimony of an eye-witness at the burning of Jews,—reads with a sort of masochistic fervor the most revolting details of the torture. It is by no means an excess of critical interpretation to gather from these details the author's own horror of the persecutions suffered by the early Jews. Blasco Ibañez is no adulator; like our own Pinski, he belongs to the cause of the oppressed, but he will not flatter them; the same man who has so eloquently pleaded for the disinherited from his place in the Cortes and through his sociological novels, has chided the objects of his sacrifice with their intractable ignorance. Blasco Ibañez here speaks for the Jew for precisely the same reason as he spoke for the Spanish working class; because he is the avowed enemy of oppression, intolerance and injustice.

The Barriers of Religion and Race

"LUNA BENAMOR", as we have seen, followed directly upon the preceding novel, in the same year. May the author have been so very fair that he desired, after showing a Spanish nobleman ultimately scorning the hand of a Jewess, to present us with the spectacle of a Jewess scorning the hand of a Spanish consul? I do not fully believe so. Yet the fact remains that in "Luna Benamor" it is the Jewess Luna who, while not exactly scorning the consul, yet breaks off their plighted troth when confronted with the full significance of her act. And there

Digitized by Google

is the essential point, I believe, as felt by the author. In "Los Muertos Mandan" it is the man's past that keeps him from wedding the converted Jewess; in "Luna Benamor" it is the Jewess who feels the force of that past and who at the very last moment decides to remain true to the unloved man who has been chosen for her from her own people.

In the beautiful finale of "The Dead Command" the author exclaims: "No; the dead do not command! It is life that commands, and above life Love!" Yet this is his ideal rather than his reality. Has love really commanded in Jaime's case? Does love command in the case of Luna Benamor and the young consul Luis Aguirre? These two books seem to call for a third which the author has not yet written. They are like the powerful tugs of a young giant at his chains; here a link has begun to yield, and there another; Jaime has *thought* of marrying a Jewess; Luna and Luis have both seriously and honestly *thought* of marrying, despite the prejudices of Catholicism and Judaism against such a unity. And all thoughts are the germs of action; indeed, to some psychologists, they are the initiation of the act,—its first phase.

The chief fascination, to me at least, of the delightful idyllic "Luna Benamor" lies in the truly cosmopolitan background that the author has provided for it. Gibraltar, with its commingling of races from all the corners of the earth, forms a most logical scene for a novelette in which two souls, parted by the double barrier of religious antagonism and national history, forget the dark past in the luminous dawn of an intense infatuation. A burning passion, it is true, but not quite hot enough to melt the iron bars between. And how skilfully the author, against this contrast between two civilizations, places a third element,—that of the Hindu Khiamull, who is cheated of his ambition to return to his beloved India, who cannot bear the stench of white folk in his nostrils, who has *his God*, and *his* idea of feminine beauty!

Interesting Passages in "The Argonauts"

"LOS ARGONAUTAS" (1914) is without doubt one of the most remarkable, as well as the longest, of Blasco Ibañez's novels. In this vast work the author has summed up the centuries-old striving after the Golden Fleece,—the quest for money and the power it wields,—producing a twentieth-century epic literally of oceanic breadth (the action takes place upon the vessel Goethe, bound for Buenos Aires—the city of hope). Past, present and future are merged into ten eventful days of poetry, prose and passion. The novel is Wellsian in its disregard of plot,—although there is a well-defined background of love and adventure; but what a rich compensation in the veritable waterfall of ideas and observations, in the alternation of revised history with the

Digitized by Google

various mirages of the future! Chapter five, for example, entirely apart from its connection with the plan of the book, is as a sheer piece of writing and thinking one of the most remarkable chapters in contemporary literature.

In this monumental work, the prologue to a series of South American novels upon which the author had begun before the late and unlamented world war interrupted him, he considers, together with his unorthodox views upon the Columbus question, another aspect of justice to the Jewish race, at the same time making a very interesting, if not quite appealing, suggestion in regard to Spanish ferocity in the former persecution of the Jews.

Blasco Ibañez's consideration of Columbus's possible Jewish origin is but a small part of his general review of the whole question; the present paper, however, must confine itself to the Jewish aspect. English readers will soon have an opportunity of reading "The Argonauts" in their own tongue, and may supply for themselves the material that I am forced to omit from these pages.

I translate those passages bearing directly upon the matter; they come from the mouth of the talkative Isidro Maltrana, a strange, inquisitive busybody who has previously figured as the hero of the same author's "La Horda" (The Horde).

On the Theory of Columbus's Jewish Origin

"AND you, Maltrana," asks his friend, the poet Fernando Ojeda, after listening to a lengthy exposition, the purpose of which is to cast doubt upon Columbus's alleged Italian origin, "are also among those who believe him to have been a Jew?"

"I believe nothing," comes the answer, which plainly speaks for the author himself, "when proofs are absent and there are only inductions. But I will admit that those who think him to have been a Jew have some basis for their claims. That extraordinary man possessed all the traits of the ancient Hebrew: religious fervor, to the point of fanaticism; belief in prophecies; a facile faculty of mixing God in affairs of money. In order to discover India, as he says in his letters to the king and queen, 'I was aided by neither reason nor mathematics; it was merely the fulfilment of what Isaiah prophesied. . . .'"

The author then continues, in his characteristic use of indirect discourse, as follows:

——And what Isaiah had said in one of his prophecies was, according to Columbus, that before the end of the world all men would be converted, and out of Spain should come he who would show them the true faith. In addition to the authority of Isaiah he invoked that of

Digitized by Google

Esdras, a forgotten Jew, and in several of his writings there figure letters from converted Rabbis. When already an old man he wrote his famous book "The Prophecies", a mystical vagary in which he made calculations as to the life of the earth, taking as his basis the prophecies of the Bible. And the result of his reflections was the announcement that there remained to the world only one hundred and fifty years of existence, since it must perish certainly in 1656.——

A Curious Explanation of the Spanish Persecutions

"HE displays," now asserts Ojeda, "something of the wild exaltation of the ancient Hebrews, who, whenever they succeeded in establishing a nationality, persecuted and slashed one another's throats in religious controversies. In our history the most terrible inquisitors were of Jewish origin, and who knows whether a great share of Spanish fanaticism may not be due to Hebrew blood which flowed in our veins at the time our people was being definitely formed? . . . The Jew of that epoch never lost sight of business in the midst of his mystic visions, and he looked upon gold as upon something divine. Columbus was like that, too."

——"Besides," interrupts Maltrana, "it is enough to read the description given by Las Casas and other historians, of the physical appearance of the Admiral: ruddy, long-faced, aquiline nose, freckled, moody, eloquent and very fond of hard work. . . . His greed is notorious, but all who participated in these discoveries were greedy. It is true that others went frankly for the gold, and Columbus, outside of the gold, desired to serve his religion by winning millions of souls. . . ."

My purpose in thus indicating the several novels of Blasco Ibañez in which he touches upon matters of interest to Jews is to introduce, to those who do not already know him, one of the most significant writers now living. It is his essential humanity that leads him to the consideration of all questions in which there is justice to be done and truth to be spoken. He is more than merely a contemporary writer; in Spain particularly, and with growing power elsewhere, he is a contemporary force for human progress.

Isaac Goldberg

Digitized by Google

GENERAL LIBRARY
JAN 15 1920

THE MENORAH JOURNAL

VOLUME V
No. 5

OCT.-DEC.
1919

Judaism as a World Religion . . CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE
What I Saw in Lithuania . . . . . SHOLOM ASCH
The Ordeal . . . . . MARTIN FEINSTEIN
A Poem
The Hebrew Poets as Historians . . . NINA SALAMAN
With Translations by the Author
If God Had Known . . . . . HORTENSE FLEXNER
A Poem
A Revival of Jewish Music . . . . . JOSEPH REIDER
(Concluded)
"Jewish Contributions to Civilization" . . A. A. ROBACK
"A Gentle Cynic" . . . . . MAX RADIN
David Pinski's "Temptations" . . SIDNEY L. NYBURG
"The Book of the Nations" . . . . LOTTA LEVENSOHN
The A. E. F. Menorah in France . . . JOEL L. MILLER

PUBLISHED BY THE INTERCOLLEGIATE MENORAH ASSOCIATION
600 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK :: :: :: 35 CTS. A COPY

Digitized by Google

Best & Co.

MEN'S FINE ALL-WOOL SUITS

"Made in Our Own Shops"

34.50 37.50 42.50

EVERY day we are seeing men, who bought Best & Co. clothes in their youth, come in. They know what they have been looking for is here.

We ourselves have been astonished at the quick growth of our men's clothing business.

Building on the firm foundation of our boys' clothes, which we have made for 40 years—this new department for men is sound in principle.

We had the designing and tailoring organization—the high standards—and the potential clientele.

SPECIAL

MEN'S FALL OVERCOATS. Tailored from a pure worsted Vicuna finish knit weave fabric which is shower-proof, non-wrinkling, a most satisfactory garment for city or traveling. 34.50

Best & Co.

Fifth Ave. at 35th Street

Men's Shop—Fifth Floor *Est. 1879* Entrance—1 W. 35th St.

You Never Pay More at Best's

Digitized by Google

THE
MENORAH JOURNAL
VOLUME V OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1919 NUMBER 5

Judaism as a World Religion

By Claude G. Montefiore

WHAT do we mean by the words: "a national religion: a universal religion"? The matter is not quite so simple as it seems, and therefore the answer cannot be quite so simple and so short as, at first sight, it would seem that it ought to be.

A national religion would appear to be one which is limited to a single nation or people. It would seem to be a religion which, by its very nature and intention, must be so limited. A universal religion, on the other hand, would be one which is unlimited by geographical or ethnological boundaries. By its nature it can, and by its intention it seeks to be, the religion of many nations or even of every nation.

Christianity and Mohammedanism are commonly regarded as two leading examples of universal religions. As a matter of fact, many races, peoples, nations, profess the Christian or Mahommedan religion; as a matter of religious theory or doctrine, these two creeds desire to be the religion of many, or of all, nations: they are active in propaganda.

Judaism, on the other hand, is regarded as the classic example of a national religion. For, as a matter of fact, it is the religion of a single race, or as some would say, of a single people or nation; as a matter of theory or doctrine, it is a religion which does not seek or desire to be the religion of many, or of all, nations: it seeks no proselytes: it undertakes no propaganda.

CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE, distinguished lay scholar and leader of Liberal Judaism in England, was born in London, 1858, and educated at Balliol College, Oxford. He has devoted himself unsparingly to educational, philanthropic, and communal work. He is President of the University College of Southampton; he was Hibbert Lecturer in 1892, and Jowett Lecturer in 1910. Among his many notable publications are, "Origin and Development of the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews," "A Bible for Home Reading," "Elements of Liberal Judaism," "Liberal Judaism and Hellenism."

Digitized by Google

We are not here concerned with either Christianity or Mohammedanism. Nor need we, or can we, for a moment deny to them the title of universal religions. We are only concerned with Judaism. And I desire to show that Judaism is not a purely national religion.

Judaism a Blend of the National and the Universal

IF, in spite of appearances, Judaism may reasonably be denied to be a purely national religion, this is because, as I said at the outset, the answer to the question, "What is a national religion?" is not so simple as it seems. For a national religion may also have some relations to, some hopes concerning, or even some duties in respect to, other nations than the one from which its adherents are obtained. If it has these relations, hopes, duties, it is—so I contend—not a purely national religion. It is a mixture of national and universal. Such a mixture I conceive Judaism to be.

Jewish universalism had a very peculiar history. It grew up, perhaps I ought to add, it is growing up, on peculiar lines. It is largely the result of the fact that from the earliest times in Israel—that is to say, from the period of the Exodus—there was only one official and national god recognized as the object of Israelite worship, and that this God was conceived as exclusive in the highest degree, jealous of any rival or partner, brooking even no subordinate, needing no consort. And this practical monotheism passed into a more theoretic monotheism, partly by the close association of the god with a high morality, and partly by a daring assumption of consummate genius or inspiration. The conquests of Assyria and Babylon instead of causing the God of Israel to disappear, or making him subject to the gods of the conquerors, had the very opposite effect. These conquests tended to denationalize and universalize the apparently conquered God. For Assyria was the rod of his anger: Babylon the servant and executor of his righteous wrath. This was a *volte face*, a turning of the tables, of the highest religious audacity and of the highest religious significance. The overthrow of Israel implied, not the inferiority, but the truth and the triumph of Israel's God.

Thus, gradually, out of a religion which could, perhaps, rightly be described as purely national, grew a religion which, while still partially national, was also partially universal. It was partially universal for at least four reasons. First of all, its sole and single God was conceived as the only Divine power in heaven above and on earth beneath. Secondly, this sole and single God was the creator of all men, the God, in Pentateuchal language, of the spirits of all flesh. Thirdly, universalist

Digitized by Google

hopes or beliefs began to be taught as regards the relations of this God to other nations and of other nations to this God, at all events as regards the future. In the future, in the Golden Age which was predicted, all nations were to become worshippers of Israel's God. With this worship of God was to be associated an increase of righteousness and of peace. Fourthly, a conception was reached by one inspired thinker, which was never entirely abandoned, but which, on the contrary, was often emphasized and even developed, according to which Israel itself was charged by its God with some distinct duty or commission relative to the other nations of the world.

Now it seems clear that a religion of this kind—and to this stage Judaism had advanced even within the Old Testament period—cannot be rightly called a purely national religion. We may, perhaps, more justly describe it as a religion of a mixed type, a blend between universal and national, not easily paralleled elsewhere, but also, it must be confessed, not arriving at a perfect and complete harmony.

Universal Doctrine in a National Setting

THE Judaism of the Rabbinic period did not essentially advance beyond the Old Testament combinations and inconsistencies. And if we jump from the Rabbinic to the present age, we should still, I think, have to describe modern Orthodox Judaism as a religion of a mixed type, partly national and partly universal. Its universalism has several limitations, and though these limitations are, and can be, consciously defended as not really inconsistent with a fundamental and essential universalism, it is difficult to plead that a complete and adequate harmony has been attained.

Let us, first of all, note what these limitations are. Orthodox Judaism makes a very marked distinction between its doctrines and its institutions, its observances, its ceremonial. Its doctrines, or, at all events, its fundamental doctrines, are universal themselves, and will, it is hoped, ultimately become the fundamental religious doctrines of the whole world. I mean such doctrines as the Unity and moral perfection of the Divine Being, His fatherhood in respect of man, the relation of each human soul to its Divine Creator, the intimate conjunction of religion and morality, the deathlessness of the human spirit and so on. These doctrines are universal in the double sense that no national taint or limitation adheres to them, and that they are intended for universal appropriation. On the other hand, the entire setting of the religion as given in the Pentateuchal and Rabbinic Codes is national, and in a double sense, both because much of that setting is really national in character,

Digitized by Google

and because it is rigidly intended and reserved for the members of the single nation or race.

In the next place, though modern Orthodox Judaism lays stress upon the mission of Israel, and though it has advanced far beyond both Biblical and Rabbinic Judaism in its, I think, invariably ethical interpretation of Jewish election by, and relation to, God (an interpretation which makes such election and relation quite consistent with universalism), it has to be admitted that its universalism is of a markedly passive kind. By this passivity I mean that while Orthodox Judaism conceives itself to be in possession of full religious truth (and claiming, therefore, more than is claimed by Liberal Judaism), it takes no active steps of any kind to disseminate this truth to those who are beyond its pale. It deliberately eschews all religious propaganda. It almost ostentatiously announces that it seeks no proselytes. It even puts difficulties in the way of their reception, if they insist upon entering the fold. Yet it has very commonly been held that one of the truest marks of a truly universal religion is its desire to enlarge its borders, to increase its numbers, to disseminate its doctrines. But here, too, it may be observed that this adverse attitude to propaganda and proselytizing is given a universalist defence. On the one hand, it is urged that the inbringing of the nations into Theism is to be the work of other Theistic religions, from which religions, when the process is completed, they are then to pass forward to the purer monotheism of Israel; on the other hand, it is declared, inasmuch as not religious belief, but moral righteousness, is the test of salvation, that the narrow reason why other religions engage in proselytizing activities falls away. They are unnecessary. The religious development of the world can be left in the hands of God.

But as the result and upshot of these conditions and defences, it must be allowed that the vision of Orthodox Judaism is turned rather inwards than outwards. The religious life which it upholds, the religious ideal which it proclaims and praises, have little relation to the world beyond its doors. So long as it is untroubled by the world, it asks no more: it does not think much of what passes outside: it does not regulate, or vary, any portion of its life or its ceremonial by the necessities, or the changes, or the conditions, of the nations, whom, nevertheless, Israel was to lead towards the light.

How Can Judaism Be of Universal Value?

IT remains to be considered, first, whether the universal aspects of Judaism cannot be increased or made more prominent, secondly, whether even though certain national or racial features may remain, this

Digitized by Google

particular religion, in spite, or even conceivably because, of them, may not be of value and purpose to the world.

The outside view is that any such attempted universalization is hopeless, and comes nineteen hundred years too late. This is one of the reasons why outsiders are inclined to look upon Liberal Judaism with much respect, but also with good-natured pity, as if we were out for a lost cause and an impossible issue.

There are two ways in which Judaism may yet prove to be of religious value to the world. Both ways, however, involve labor; both involve a certain set purpose, an openness of vision, a regard for the nations without as well as for the community within; both ways, moreover, as it seems to me, though here prejudice and prepossession may come in, are especially for Liberal Judaism to walk and to advance in.

The first way is a more conscious, a no less tenacious, but also a more flexible, continuance of the old orthodox idea of sheer maintenance and assertion. In other words, Judaism may, I think, be of religious value to the world by merely continuing to exist. But it can only prove or manifest such value if, as it continues to exist, it also seeks to develop and to grow.

Why is the continuance of Judaism of any possible value to the world?

The reason is that Judaism unites together as an historical religion a series of doctrines and a conception of life which, in their balance and combination, are, in our opinion, both valuable and true, and also not yet in the full possession of the outside world. Moreover, these doctrines, or the religious whole, the total view of the universe, which they unite to form, are being attacked from different sides. We may represent Judaism as a religion of balance and also of comprehensiveness; a religion of the just middle and yet of intensity. And it is this balance and comprehensiveness, this just middle and intensity, which it seems of real importance to maintain and to preserve. The value of Judaism may lie to-day and to-morrow less in any *one* of its doctrines, than in the *combination* of them, in the *whole* rather than in the *parts*. It is a most meagre and shrunken view of Judaism to suppose that the abstract dogma of the divine Unity is the one contribution of truth and value which it has to offer to the world and to conserve for it.

At this point, then, though no presentation or description of the Jewish religion can be attempted, some mention must be made of those salient Jewish doctrines which, in their balance and comprehensiveness, perhaps also I should add, in their capacity for growth or adaptation, appear of great importance for all men and not merely for ourselves. In their maintenance and in their development should lie a part of the Jewish contribution to universalism.

Digitized by Google

A Typical Jewish Doctrine: the Oneness of God

IF, as I have already indicated, the Unity of God is not by any means the whole of these doctrines, especially as negatively interpreted, the rich *positive* Jewish conception of God is certainly a very important part of them. And this conception illustrates my contention that one merit or quality of Jewish teaching is its balance or comprehensiveness, and that a second merit is its freedom and capacity to grow. I do not mean that it "cadges" for contributions from every quarter, but that it is free and able to smooth out rough edges, to get over apparent inconsistencies, to develop inadequacies.

God is One, but that does not mean that his nature should not be conceived as rich or many-sided. It was good Jewish teaching when Jowett said of him: "He is a person, but not like ourselves; a mind, but not a human mind; a cause, but not a material cause, nor yet a maker or artificer." Again he is both our Father and our King. He is both Law and Love. He is transcendent; the supreme Reality; the source of knowledge and of goodness. But he is also immanent; he is the world's spirit or soul: and still more may we truly say that our spirit, our reason, and our righteousness, are akin to his. Judaism cannot allow that in any man there resided a complete incarnation of God; that any man was, or could be, perfect whether in righteousness or in knowledge. It cannot allow that man could, or can, or did, or will, ever become God. But, on the other hand, it cannot separate man from God too utterly: somehow or other, and at some stage of his development, man received or acquired a touch, a breath, a signature, of the divine—kinship with, and an image of, God. God is above and beyond the world, for he is more than the world: but he is not withdrawn from the world: nature too reveals and possesses a part or an aspect of him.

Just consider how balanced and how comprehensive this teaching is. How much there is in it which needs careful study and co-ordination; how it is obviously capable of enlargement, of harmonious synthesis and development. In one sense of the word, it is simple: that is, it can be presented in a simple, and yet not untruthful, form to a child and to an uneducated mind. But, in another sense, it is exceedingly complex and many-sided. And, in yet another sense, it is exceedingly difficult. That is why our religion (like every other religion, for that matter) is in urgent need both of deep thinkers and of holy saints.

Consider, again, how many systems there are which conflict either partially or wholly with this Jewish doctrine, as here so badly, meagrely, and unphilosophically presented. At once there comes to mind Christian Trinitarianism, but that is the system which perhaps conflicts the least,

Digitized by Google

or the least profoundly, with Jewish doctrine, and yet it does very importantly conflict with it. But, in addition, there is Atheism, there is Agnosticism, there is materialism; there is also cold and distant Deism; there is attractive and many-colored, many-visaged Pantheism; all more or less eagerly, more or less frequently, offering their different messages, and competing, as it were, for the world's allegiance.

Among them stands Judaism with its distinctive message, balanced and comprehensive; mediatizing and ardent: "simple," but also "hard." Is it not clear, even in regard to one particular branch of Jewish doctrine only, that Judaism and its adherents have their work cut out for them, and that both from the point of view of maintaining and developing this doctrine, and from the point of view of making it better known, and of withdrawing from it any *needless* enwrapments or obsolete obscurities, that work has a distinctively universalist scope, and a distinctively universalist aim?

"Faith and Works": "Freedom and Law"

BUT, then, in addition to this more general doctrine of God, we have the doctrine of his relation to man and of man's relation to him. Judaism is jealous to allow the free access to God of each human soul without mediator or intercessor. It holds that God can be adequately realized in his love and his goodness without the help and the interposition of the perfect life and the perfect death of One who was both very Man and very God; that men can know and love the Father without the help and influence of the Son. Judaism, again, desires to do justice both to human effort and to divine grace. Both have their place and both their function. Once more, balance, and once more, comprehensiveness, but here also a very definite doctrine; and not merely antagonistic to, and a denial of, another doctrine, but positive, direct, opulent. And here, too, in no poor sense, simple or easy, and here, too, well capable of fuller enlargement and a better harmonization.

Then there is the well-known old antithesis of faith and works, with which we may combine that other antithesis of law and freedom. A one-sided opposition to a Christian dogma led a certain number of Jews in the modern period to lay a one-sided emphasis upon salvation by works. It remains for a still later Judaism to effect a harmony between faith and works, in the full conviction that an insistence upon both is Jewish, and a combination of both more Jewish still. But these last words of mine must not be meant to imply that the fuller doctrine, which we shall gradually reach, as regards this great question of faith and works,—which is no mere question of abstract and technical theology, but touches vital problems of morality and of religion—will be a mere

Digitized by Google

rechauffée or welding together of old opinions and citations. It will be Jewish, but it will also be new: a true balance and a true development.

So, too, as regards Freedom and Law. Judaism has been widely characterized as a legal religion, and found wanting because of its legalism. The old Rabbis, on the other hand, declared that no freedom was obtainable except through the Torah. The Judaism of the future, while emancipating itself from any bondage to a particular code or codes, to a particular book or books, must yet champion the place of Law both in morality and in religion. It must urge that freedom is only to be won by obedience, that the Moral Law is the creation of man, because it has its ultimate source and its ultimate authority in God. That new covenant which Jeremiah predicted our Christian friends assert to have already arrived. Modern Judaism, on the contrary, declares that man is in a constant process of advance between the Old and the New. Just because, however far he advances, he always remains man, finite, a mixture of spirit and flesh, liable to err, but capable of goodness, can he, and must he, never abandon the Old Covenant entirely. Always for him there is, and must be, an Ought, a holy Law, without him as well as within him, before which he bows down in glad adoration and humble surrender. Never for him can the sense of outward obligation be entirely lost: never for him can the struggle *into* freedom be entirely overcome. Duty remains, and only through duty lies the road to liberty. I do not for a moment mean to assert that such a doctrine is peculiar to Judaism, but what I do assert is that such a doctrine is extremely valuable and urgent as well as true, that it is intensely Jewish, and that it forms an integral part of that articulate and many-sided whole, Judaism, which we are to preserve and maintain *as a whole* for the benefit of ourselves and of the world.

"Making the Best of Both Worlds"

ONE more doctrine I must still find time to mention, as another illustration of Jewish balance; another illustration too of the difficulty of Judaism, the difficulty of combining intensity with *inbetweenness*. Judaism is open to the charge of seeking to make the best of both worlds. That is part of its balance. It teaches a life after death, to which this life is the prelude, and for which it is the preparation. It teaches discipline, training, self-control, moderation, *sophrosunê*: and there are perhaps few portions of its teaching which its votaries, in lands of freedom, find it harder to realize and to practise; but it teaches also that this life is an end as well as a means; that there is a true earthly blessedness and happiness which ought to, and can, be associated with righteousness and love. It is not that Judaism denounces other-worldliness, and

Digitized by Google

limits its vision to earthly prosperity: it is rather that its vision embraces both this world and the next world in one. It is not that Judaism teaches or approves mere sensuous enjoyment: it is rather that it teaches as its ideal a true attachment to this earthly life and a true detachment from it, and, above all, that it does not seek to negate and expel the fleshly instincts and passions and enjoyments, but to train and tame and use and discipline and sanctify them in the service of the moral law, to the higher and truer happiness of the individual and of society, and for the glory of God.

I have just used the words, "the individual and society," and I am tempted to point out how Judaism seeks to reconcile and do justice to the claims of each: how here, too, it aims at balance, comprehensiveness, intensity. But what I want to do now is to indicate very briefly how these Jewish doctrines form part of an historical religion, which, here too, in this very point, can achieve a peculiar balance and combination. I must, however, frankly admit that in my own view of the matter this peculiar balance and combination can only be achieved by that type and phase of Judaism which some people like to call Reform Judaism, and which I myself like to call Liberal Judaism.

Tradition Without Its Tyranny

THE value of an historical religion, such as Judaism, needs no telling or proving. Such a religion, with its long and wonderful story, its links with the past, its institutions charged with emotion and association, has a force and a persistency peculiarly its own. But the past can be not only an example, a lesson, an inspiration, a directing and dynamic power; it can also be a bondage, a hindrance, a cause, not of development, but of stagnation. Especially may this be the case where the past has left behind it a book and a code, or books and codes, which fasten the arresting hand of the cold letter and of dead authority upon progress, development, life. In Orthodox Judaism the past usurps the place of the present: the inspiration of bygone years chills and curtails the inspiration of to-day. But Liberal Judaism has won its freedom. It is shackled neither by the letter of the code nor by the letter of the narrative. It is tied down neither by ordinance nor by miracle. Such national features as it freely chooses to retain in its outward setting can be shot through and transfigured by spiritual light, and hence it is that the assertion I have made may well be justified that Judaism, in spite, and even conceivably because, of these semi-national features, may yet be of religious value and purpose to the world. It is, I think, true to say that no religion excels Liberal Judaism in its connection *with* its past, and in

Digitized by Google

its freedom *from* its past: in the high place which it can and does assign to its ancient scriptures, and in its complete liberty of judgment towards their contents. There is no historical religion which can give a more absolutely free and unfettered range to historical investigation and scientific criticism than Liberal Judaism, none which can show greater fearlessness or indifference to their conclusions.

We must not exaggerate. I do not desire to assert that some of the excellences—the balance, the comprehensiveness, the capacity for development—which I have claimed for Jewish doctrines and for Judaism as a whole, may not be found either in Orthodox Christianity or in Unitarianism. I would not even deny that a point here and a point there may not, for the moment, be found more developed or more intense outside Judaism than within it. But what I do claim is that the combination as an *actual* whole, and as a growing and *potential* whole, can be found nowhere else more purely and more completely. It is, then, this religious whole, as it is, and as through our fidelity and labor, and through the labor and fidelity of our successors, it may yet become, which I assert to be of value for the world. It is this religion which, in the religious turmoil or progress or reaction or confusion after the war, we, its adherents, have to preserve and to develop both for our own sakes and for the world's.

"An Overflowing of Judaism Beyond Its Borders"

THE sheer maintenance and gradual development of this religion is the first and the main way in which the Jews, witnesses of the Lord, as the prophet called them of old, should and may fulfil their mission. Too little do we realize that Judaism cannot maintain and develop itself. It is only in its adherents that it lives: upon them it depends for preservation and for growth. And in and with the work of maintenance and development, carried on for our own sake and for the world's sake, the universal aspect and relevancy of our Jewish doctrines in their balance and their wholeness, their applicability and suitability to outsiders as well as to insiders, can well be remembered, brought forward, and emphasized.

But there is, as I have already indicated, a second way in which conceivably the mission may find, in the future, some partial measure of fulfilment. That possible way lies in the realization of the apparently visionary conception that Judaism itself, doctrine and embodiment, should become the actual religious home for many men and women beyond its present pale. Can such a universalization of embodiment as well as doctrine be effected as would enable an overflowing of Judaism beyond its borders to become likely, and to be carried out?

Digitized by Google

To reply to this question in detail would take too long. We can at once observe that the first duty of Judaism is to its own adherents. There must be no losing of those actually within in order to gain possible adherents from without. No denial of the historic past; no faithlessness; and also no deliberate attempt to make the whole presentation of our faith thin and vague and general in order to make it more suitable to newcomers.

But, on the other hand, there is no reason why we should not always keep a finger upon the world's religious pulse; why we should not carefully watch its needs, its developments, its changing conditions; no reason why we should not help forward the universalization of our faith, and increase men's knowledge of it, where this can fitly and usefully be done. An active propaganda—though if worthily and openly conducted, without bribery or material temptations, it would not be rightly open to the animadversions which Jews commonly pass upon any attempt to diffuse religious truth and to make it known to and possessed by others—is nevertheless for the present and for the nearer future outside the range of practical politics. Something, however, could even now be done by literature. Something has already been done by making the entry into Judaism no longer ugly, difficult, and churlish, but beautiful, welcomed, and reasonably easy. And something can also be done by a gradual universalization of the cult, of the religious institutions of the synagogue. And here we may notice a remarkable coincidence between the actual needs of those within, and the possible needs of those without. Liberal Jews have gradually universalized the ceremonial of their synagogues for the sake of themselves. But this very universalization may also be helpful for an ulterior object. It was, for example, not for others but for ourselves that we introduced the vernacular into our services. What appeals to us primarily in any form or ceremony, what makes it to us worth keeping, that element in it which we wish to retain, the very test of its value, is, I think, almost invariably its religious appeal to us as men and women, over and above, and independently of, its historic appeal to us as Jews. What, therefore, makes any form or ceremony or holy day of religious worth for ourselves would make it of religious worth to others, and what would make it of religious worth to others makes it actually of religious worth to ourselves.

The Duty of the Maintenance of Judaism

IT may, however, well be that the main religious work for Judaism to fulfil in and for the world will, for long ages, be confined to maintenance and development. Upon the Jews who have to discharge this

Digitized by Google

work of maintenance and development rests a heavy and peculiar burden. For in one sense they have perpetually to recall to themselves how ill they carry out this work: they must be filled with humility and shame. And in another sense they must perpetually recall their possession of a charge, a mission, a consecration: they must be filled with self-consciousness and pride. A truly difficulty combination; it is hardly a wonder that the percentage of those who rise to it is sadly small. And the difficulty is greatly increased because this religion, which it is their duty to maintain and to develop, is itself, as we saw, a difficult religion, just because it is a religion of balance, of comprehensiveness, which yet demands enthusiasm, passion, intensity, sacrifice. It is this pure, this balanced, this difficult religion of which they are called upon to be the priests. To borrow a word from our neighbors, the Jews must be the "regulars," "the religious," for the observation and admiration of the world. They must be the witnesses of Judaism's capacity and of its truth, of its power to impel to lives of righteousness, to lives of sacrifice, to lives of love. Through them, and their religious intensity and passion, must the true universalization of Judaism proceed. Jews sometimes speak of themselves as the People of the Book. I do not care for this title. It suggests, at best, a standing still: a static fidelity. I would suggest a more dynamic title: a title which should make them ever realize that they have a duty to the world as well as to move forward: not merely to exist, but to plead, to labor, to redeem. I would call them, therefore, I would wish them to call themselves, not People of the Book, votaries of the changeless letter, but Servants of the Living God, Knights of the Holy Spirit.

C. G. Masaryk

Digitized by Google

What I Saw in Lithuania

By Sholom Asch

[Editors' Note.— *The first-hand knowledge of Poland possessed by Sholom Asch as a native and life-long resident, together with his powers of observation and narration as a novelist and dramatist, give exceptional interest to this "report," prepared as the result of a trip to Poland on behalf of the American Joint Distribution Committee. This is the first publication in full of the major portion of his official report to the Committee.*]

WHEN I heard of the pogrom in Vilna, I could no longer restrain myself, and I determined to go to Lithuania. In this I acted in accord with the resolution of our committee, which had empowered me to visit that country.

Lithuania has suffered comparatively more than any other Jewish province. The period of the terrible expulsions from Lithuania will long live in our memory. At the beginning of the war all the Jews in the provinces of Kovno and Suwalki were deported by the Russian military authorities. The Lithuanian Jews assert with justice that their deportation was even more terrible than the expulsion from Spain. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were forced to leave their homes, where they had dwelt for many, many years, upon twenty-four hours' notice. In the space of one day and one night the venerable Jewry of Lithuania, that illustrious Jewry which had distinguished itself both in ancient and modern learning and wisdom, was torn out by the roots. The Jews abandoned all their goods and homes; women carried the little children in their arms, and the men bore away the scrolls of the Law from the synagogues—thus were they driven from their native land.

According to the report of Rabbi Shapiro of Kovno, who was among the refugees, it was not only the able-bodied Jews who were forced to leave their homes, but even the sick in the hospitals, pregnant women—all were compelled to undergo the hardships of exile. In some cases the Jews were forced to leave their dead in the houses, since they had no opportunity to

Sholom Asch was born in Kutno, Poland, in 1880, and lived in Poland until he came to America four years ago. A study of his career and work as a Yiddish dramatist and novelist appeared in The Menorah Journal for Dec., 1915, and Feb., 1916. The power and distinction of his plays have won recognition both in Europe and America. "The God of Vengeance" was performed by Reinhardt in Berlin. Translations of several of his plays and novels into English have recently been made.

Digitized by Google

bury them, for every Jew found within the limits of the prescribed area after the appointed time of twenty-four hours practically signed his own death warrant.

Pillage and Wanton Destruction of Homes

WHEN the United States entered the war—and in fact throughout the period of American participation—Lithuania was under German occupation. Therefore, although this committee had long known of the terrible conditions prevailing among the Jews of Lithuania, it had no opportunity to administer relief before the signing of the armistice. It was the knowledge of those conditions that also impelled me to visit Lithuania, after Poland and Galicia had been visited by other members of the committee.

Most of the exiles had been deported into the provinces of Central Russia. A large number of Kovno Jews, however, were able to stay in Vilna and places near by; and there they waited for the first opportunity to return to their beloved homes. These Jews were the first to return when Lithuania was occupied by Germany.

In fairness, it must be said that so long as the Russians were in control of the cities of Lithuania, the abandoned property of the Jews was more or less safeguarded, although they themselves had been treated most cruelly. An order, signed by the Russian commander, declaring that theft would be punishable by death, was posted on all the vacant Jewish houses. But in the interval between the Russian retreat and the German advance, the Christian population broke into the houses and the stores which they then thoroughly pillaged. The Germans promptly put a stop to these civilian raids; they simply appropriated the Jewish property for themselves. In the Jewish stores and houses they found goods and clothing that they themselves needed greatly. But not only were the goods stolen from the dwellings,—the houses themselves were ruined. The gradual disintegration of the Jewish dwellings by the Christian population continued uninterruptedly. Doors and windows were removed; walls and floors, and often entire houses, were destroyed by the population, or by the Germans, and used for fuel; finally the very land upon which these houses had stood was plowed up and sown, so that it became impossible to recognize even the sites.

Those exiles who were first to return found their houses pillaged and half destroyed; but with a true Jewish feeling of brotherhood they devoted themselves to the task of guarding the property of those Jews who had not yet returned. They nailed up the doors and windows with boards; they organized a special guard to protect Jewish property; and after appealing to the German military authorities finally succeeded in securing protection for the Jewish dwellings.

Digitized by Google

In order to convey some idea of the extent of the damage to Jewish property, I shall quote a report of the Rosh-Yeshibah, Rabbi Yablonsky, upon the houses of Slobodki, a town where I myself verified the report.

Slobodki is a typical Jewish Lithuanian town, built entirely of wood. Before the war there was a Jewish population of seven thousand souls, living in about six hundred wooden houses. When the Jews were driven out of Slobodki, all the houses were entered and robbed. About two thousand of these refugees have since returned to Slobodki; but not all of them found a roof under which to sleep. One hundred and five houses had been leveled to the ground, which had then been plowed and tilled, so that not a trace of the homes, where one hundred and eighty-five families had dwelt, remained. One hundred and forty-two houses had been badly damaged; that is, in many cases the doors and windows had been removed, the flooring had been taken away, and the roofs had been torn down. Two hundred and three houses had been damaged to a lesser extent.

I mention Slobodki, because I have been there myself, and because I personally saw everything that I have described. But in many other cities the situation is even worse; they have not only suffered destruction by war, but the Jewish homes remaining intact have been pillaged successively by the local Christian population and by the German soldiery. This was also the fate of Shavel, Ponevezh, Rossiani, etc. In the little village of Godlove, near Kovno, I found the houses half destroyed by shells; the synagogue was spared no more than the other buildings. The wooden houses were demolished and carted away piece-meal by the local population and the soldiers, for fuel. In Godlove before the war there were 100 Jewish families who lived by farming. Near every Jewish house there had been a piece of tilled ground, or a little garden. Only about twenty families, consisting mostly of old men, women, and girls, have as yet returned. They found their goods and dwellings gone, and now live in stalls. It is characteristic to note that the first thing they did was to establish a poorhouse near the ruined synagogue; and in the poorhouse I have found casual strangers and refugees, whom the poor people of Godlove are now supporting.

Unemployment—Depression—and the Pogrom Peril

I DID not notice any ruined houses in Kovno, except such as had been destroyed during the bombardment of the city; but in general the conditions there are terrible. In the little towns the Jews manage to find some way to make a living. In Kovno they die of starvation. Of the 35,000 Jewish families that lived in Kovno before the war, only 20,000 have as yet returned. Their entire property, the contents of their stores and houses, had been removed by the Germans, so that when they returned

Digitized by Google

the Jews found only bare walls. Of commerce or industry there is little to report. With the exception of a few young men who have become rich from speculation and smuggling, the entire Jewish population is in need and without work. The former Jewish propertied class has become poor, and the newly rich have little sympathy for their poor brothers, nor can they win the confidence of the Jewish population sufficiently to assume any leadership. It is only recently that some of the prominent men of Kovno, such as Rabbi Shapiro, Dr. Rabinovitch, and Mr. Wolff, have returned. These men are trying to rebuild their congregations. They have now founded a Relief Committee which is to distribute the American Relief funds, a committee on which all Jewish parties are represented according to the representation in the city elections.

The economic situation is very bad. Unemployment is general. This is due not only to the scarcity of raw materials and tools, but also to the uncertainty of the political situation, which compels even those who are able and anxious to resume work to hold back. The country is now occupied by German and Lithuanian troops who compose the new Lithuanian army.

The Lithuanian Government has armed the peasants with German arms and is conducting war against the Bolsheviki. A conflict with the Poles, who have occupied Vilna, is expected daily. The officers of the Lithuanian army are the officers of the old Russian régime. This means that they instil the new Lithuanian army with hatred against the Jews. The results of this preaching of hatred are already beginning to manifest themselves in the first villages taken by the Lithuanians from the Russian Bolsheviki. For instance, in Ponevezh, the Lithuanians began to rob the village and to beat the Jews, and the commander, a Russian officer, exacted a tribute of three thousand rubles from the poor Jewish population. And if the Germans, who accompanied the Lithuanians, had not restrained the soldiers, a massacre would have resulted, as in Pinsk and Vilna. The new Lithuanian Government, anxious for the sympathy of the Allies, is making every effort to prevent its army from committing pogroms. Officially the Jews in Lithuania have not only equal but also national rights. Yiddish is one of the official languages for all government orders; the Jewish schools are supported by the government just as well as the Lithuanian schools; and several members of the cabinet are Jews. For example, Doctor Rachmilevich is the Vice-Minister of Commerce and Dr. Rosenbaum is a member of the Lithuanian peace delegation in Paris. It is also expected that Soloveichik will be appointed Minister of Jewish Affairs.

The Prime Minister of Lithuania assured me that the Jews may expect equal political and national rights from the new Lithuanian Government. But the Government cannot always control the army. As

Digitized by Google

noted before, the new Lithuanian army is trained by old régime Russian officers, and the civil authorities have very little to say. Proclamations, as a rule in Polish, intended to incite pogroms are often seen in the cities. The pogrom peril hangs like a heavy cloud above the Jewish population; no one may guess what new horror the morning will bring forth. The pogrom panic which seized the Jewish population of Lithuania after the pogrom in Vilna has extinguished the will to work and to live.

Selling Their Last Tools for a Piece of Bread

IN addition to the pogrom panic and to the general economic depression of the country, the Jews of Lithuania are also confronted by an evident effort on the part of the government to deprive them of their very means of livelihood. The new Lithuanian Government, which represents the peasants, has endeavored to start co-operative trade monopolies, which tends to destroy private enterprise and thus impair the earning power of thousands and thousands of Jewish store-keepers and merchants. The small dealer in the little towns can no longer make a living. The undermining of Jewish trade reacts upon the Jewish artisan. This situation has been the cause of widespread unemployment among the Jewish workmen in Lithuania. Walking the streets of Kovno there are thousands of unemployed Jewish artisans; carpenters, cobblers, blacksmiths, locksmiths, glaziers, etc. Some of them carry their old tools in their hands, searching vainly for work. It is touching to see these simple folk, with pale, hungry faces, and lustreless eyes, dejectedly sitting on the curbstones of the streets of Kovno, eager to sell their sweat and strength for a piece of bread for their children. But nobody buys! Often the worker will sell his last tool for a piece of bread. I have seen locksmiths sell their tools because they could no longer bear to look upon the hunger of their children. In trying to appease this hunger, if only for a minute, they have lost forever the very means for a livelihood. Gradually such a worker sinks lower and lower, and becomes in time an utter burden to himself and others.

While I was in Kovno a deputation of workers visited me. They had founded a Relief Society to help each other buy tools, to build shops, and to borrow money for materials. They came to ask my advice. They had heard that the Jewish workers in America had founded mutual benefit societies for insurance against sickness and death. (Probably they referred to the Workmen's Circle.) They asked me to have the by-laws of these societies sent to them. They also questioned me as to whether the Jewish workmen of America would lend them a little money to enable them to buy tools and materials with which to begin work. This would help them to get on their feet. After I had been assured as to the reliability

Digitized by Google

of these people, I asked our committee in Kovno to give the Handworkers' Union 10,000 marks, as a beginning, from the moneys appropriated for Kovno, and I assured them that larger sums would be forthcoming from America for the same purpose.

Ninety Per Cent Starving—from Lack of Work

THE destruction of war, the fear of pogroms, unemployment—all combine to induce starvation. There is food, but it is expensive and only a few of the elect, who earn money by smuggling, have the means of purchasing it. In the show windows of Kovno the best food is displayed to incite the appetite of the passers-by; white bread, sausages, butter, eggs, may all be eyed through the window—but they cannot be bought. A bread roll, or, as it is called, American bread (Europeans no longer remember the time when they had their own white bread; they call it American bread simply because it comes from America) which before the war had cost one or two copeks, now costs from one to two marks.

Here is a scene from life: A Jewish woman is selling white rolls, from a basket. She cries her wares; but this is unnecessary. There are plenty of people who want them. All the passers-by are attracted by the fragrant odor of the freshly baked white bread. A Lithuanian soldier approaches, takes a roll in his hands, examines it, begins to haggle, and finally, with a curse on his lips, goes away. He had counted all the coppers in his pockets and could not find enough to buy the roll. A peasant woman appears, looks at the rolls, haggles, and also leaves with a curse. I saw five or six people look at the rolls and go away empty-handed, unable to buy. During all this time her child, a girl of about eight, stood at her side, tugging at her mother's skirt. The mother drives her away, but the child struggles frantically to reach the basket. I approached the woman and asked what the child wanted. The mother answered bitterly: "She wants a roll. But how can I give her one? It is not my property." She pointed at the basket. "Is that mine? Borrowed money!"

Except for those lucky ones who make money by smuggling, and who can afford to spend forty or fifty marks on a dinner, consisting of fish and meat, the great and small of Kovno are hungering. It was only lately that the American Relief Commission began to furnish food for institutions where there are children under fifteen. The following story, told to me by a teacher from a Jewish children's home, is characteristic. At first the Americans brought cocoa and oranges to the schools. The children refused to drink the cocoa. They did not believe that it was human food and declined to take it until the teacher had first tasted it. In the end they were persuaded to drink the cocoa and liked it; but as

Digitized by Google

for the oranges, they remained firm in the conviction that this was not regular human food!

The Jewish population of Kovno is starving; not because of food famine, but because of lack of work. Those who have money can get enough to eat. In some Kovno restaurants I found better food than in the Jewish restaurants in New York. Ninety per cent of the population is starving. People have become accustomed to live an entire day on a morsel of bread and a piece of herring, which the government now receives from Denmark.

In one of the people's kitchens, which is supported by our money, from a thousand to eleven hundred people eat one meal per day. I visited the kitchen at noon and observed the people who ate there. Among them I found women whose husbands in America had been accustomed to send them money before the war. I took the American addresses of their husbands. All these women were accompanied by their children. Many women take the food home in vessels for their little ones. I met numbers of unemployed workmen in the kitchen, old men, and many, very many, children who could not be accommodated in the children's homes, and who live in the streets and eat in the public kitchen.

When I took a photograph of the people in the kitchen, one woman said: "Why do you photograph us? Photograph the soup." I saw the soup, which consisted of water, some peas, and a bit of spice. It was supposed to be sufficient food for one person for an entire day. And when they discovered who I was, they supplicated the American committee to have at least a few potatoes put in the soup.

Their First Care—for Synagogues and Schools and Children

NEITHER the epidemics of war, nor the ever-present fear of pogroms, nor the pangs of hunger have so far been able to break the Jewish spirit or to extinguish the light of Jewish faith. A great feeling of reverence possesses us when we come face to face with this eternal secret of Jewish history, which may now be seen in the Jewish life of Lithuania. How this Jewry, physically broken and downtrodden, gathers its spiritual forces and strives to rise again, to rebuild its ruined congregations, to re-open schools for the hungry and naked children, and to repair the moral and physical network of its life! The Jews of Lithuania remind us of that worm which has such vitality in every part of its body that even though severed in twain each half yet lives on.

In accordance with eternal Jewish traditions, the returning exiles first turned their attention to their synagogues and the schools for their children. Not only did the rabbis and the heads of the great Yeshibas of Telz, Slobodki, Kovno and other places in Lithuania, who together with

Digitized by Google

their Yeshibas had been exiled, at once re-open their schools and resume teaching, but in every little town to which the Jews returned, their first concern was for the education of their children. In the small town of Godlove, which was entirely wiped out by the fire of war, it is pathetically significant that the first care of the returned refugees was not to rebuild their houses but to procure a teacher and a school for their seventeen children. They paid their teacher 500 rubles a term, and were the first to open a cheder in the partly destroyed synagogue, and to establish a poor-house for the wandering refugees. When they learned who I was, their first request was that the Kovno committee grant them 1000 marks —500 marks for a roof on the ruined synagogue, and 500 to repair the Talmud Torah building. I did as they desired.

In the larger cities the Jews use their national minority rights to establish Jewish schools,—children's homes, public schools, Hebrew and Yiddish high schools and technical schools.

In Kovno I visited some children's homes which the Jewish workmen and the Zionists had founded, some public schools supported by the Government, and also two high schools, one Hebrew, and one Russian. The city council believes in maintaining existing institutions but refuses to establish new ones. The Jews, therefore, found schools themselves, and then ask the city to maintain them. The founding of the schools also helps to relieve the hunger of the children, for the American Relief Committee furnishes food to those children that are in institutions. Consequently the workmen all strive to place their children there. And the teachers, governed by their idealistic principles, work for small wages. These Jewish children's homes make a splendid impression. They are founded in love and idealism, and furnish new evidence of the power of the Jewish spirit.

Constructive Relief

CONSTRUCTIVE relief goes hand in hand with immediate relief. Once we supply the workman with tools and materials, he need no longer come to the people's kitchen. Therefore, we must send tools as rapidly as possible to the Jewish population of Lithuania—tools for the carpenters and locksmiths, sewing machines for the tailors and shoemakers, knitting and spinning machines, linen, gingham, and cheap textile material for men's and women's clothing. We must open co-operatives—workmen's co-operatives to which tools and raw materials may be loaned. We must establish free loan associations to enable them to rebuild their houses, and to advance loans to small storekeepers to enable them to hold their own against the co-operatives and their richer competitors. We must re-establish schools, synagogues, and Talmud Torahs.

Digitized by Google

We must help to rebuild the public institutions—the schools and Talmud Torahs—without which the Kehilla cannot exist. In many cities the synagogues have been reduced to ruins by gunfire, in other cities the German military authorities have cold-bloodedly destroyed all the sacred Jewish relics. Many of the famous wooden synagogues of Poland and Lithuania, renowned for their beautiful wood carving, have been partly wrecked by the Germans, and it is our duty to restore them. Thus, for example, the Germans converted the famous seventeenth century synagogue of Vilkovisk into a bathhouse for soldiers. It is painful to see how the beautiful carved ark and the old pictures on the walls have been mutilated. The Germans committed similar outrages in other cities; in Gombin, for instance, they turned the famous synagogue into a bakery.

Taking into consideration the terrible conditions which make first aid imperative, I have recommended that our committee give the Lithuanian Jews another $100,000 for emergency relief. But committee funds will not suffice to re-establish the Jewish life of Lithuania. In addition to the funds supplied by us, every individual must be separately helped by his relatives and friends in America, as has been the custom of American Jews heretofore. How intimately Lithuanian Jewry is bound up with American Jewry may be seen from the following cases: In the small town of Godlove the 40 Jewish families that have returned from their exile have given us more than a hundred addresses of friends and relatives in America. Many of the inhabitants of Godlove have all of their relatives in America. The woman at whose house we breakfasted has four sons in America. She is alone with her two daughters in the town. "It is hard to live without men," says the old woman. "The men run away to America, and we here don't know what to do." Another woman, who has two sons in the American army, showed me their pictures. All of these people have sisters and brothers in America, and many of them husbands. In the people's kitchen in Kovno I met half naked, hungry children whose fathers are in America. I have their names and addresses.

The American Jews were always ready, and are still ready, to divide their bread with their poor relatives at home; but the peculiar situation in which Lithuania found itself during the war, under enemy occupation, has completely cut off the Lithuanian Jews from their American relatives. Many of the Lithuanian Jews have not yet returned from exile, and their relatives do not know how to locate them. Even those who have now returned cannot as yet communicate with their American relatives. Our committee has not yet succeeded in establishing safe and sound means of communication between America and Lithuania, so that the American Jews may safely send their hard-earned pennies to their relatives in their former home, and be assured of the money reaching its destination. Not only do private remittances fail to arrive, but even the money sent through

Digitized by Google

our Hague committee to Lithuania has reached the Lithuanian Jews only after many months; in fact, the entire appropriation has not yet arrived. The money rested for a long time in the Dutch embassy in Berlin before a trustworthy person could be found to take it to Vilna.

The Journey to Vilna

LEARNING in Kovno of the terrible pogrom which had occurred in Vilna, upon the capture of the city by the Polish army, I asked representatives of the American Political Mission and of the American Relief Administration in Kovno to accompany us to Vilna in order to investigate the Jewish situation there.

L. Stanstreet of the American Political Mission replied that he was greatly interested to know what had taken place in Vilna. He had also received orders to go to Vilna and write a report upon the occurrences there and transmit the report to Paris. He agreed to go to Vilna together with Mr. Menagher of the American Relief Commission. Through Dr. Rachmilevich I requested the Lithuanian prime minister, Sakhovich, to see that the Lithuanian Government provide us with an automobile and a safe conduct. The premier expressed a desire to see me and to discuss the Jewish situation in Kovno.

He received me in a very friendly manner, again assuring me of the complete equality of the Lithuanian Jews, both political and national, and I was convinced by him that the present Lithuanian Government seriously means what it says. The Jews enjoy complete political and national rights in Lithuania. I had visited several people's schools supported by government funds, where the language of instruction was Yiddish and Hebrew. Dr. Sakhovich also asserted that Dr. Soloveichik was about to be appointed Minister of Jewish Affairs, and his duty would be to safeguard the Jewish economic and national interests. The premier furthermore assured me of the friendliness of the Lithuanian people towards their Jewish neighbors. He also urged me to go to Vilna, and provided me with every facility.

"Mistakes and Misunderstandings"

I TRAVELED from Kovno to Vilna with Stanstreet and Menagher in a Lithuanian automobile. I took with me from Kovno to Vilna 200,000 marks which had been in the hands of Dr. Rachmilevich and were part of the American funds appropriated for the Vilna Relief Committee. When we arrived, the Polish commandant of Vilna being at the front, we were met by his adjutant, Captain Tomaskefsky, of the Polish General Staff. I expressed to him my wish to investigate, unhindered, the Jewish situation in Vilna. The captain, who was very friendly to me, expressed

Digitized by Google

his satisfaction at this, and said, "I know that mistakes and misunderstandings have occurred on both sides. The whole tragedy arose through an error, through a misunderstanding between the Poles and the Jews. I am very glad that you, as a well known writer and Polish Jew, will investigate this situation, and I beg you to visit me after you are through and inform me of everything. I should like to hear your opinion of the situation."

I promised to visit the captain and inform him of the result of my investigations before I left Vilna. The captain also expressed a desire to designate a Polish adjutant to accompany us and to safeguard us in Vilna, but I thanked him and expressed my wish to talk to the Vilna Jews, undisturbed, and unaccompanied by a third person. He understood. I then agreed with the American officers to meet at the home of Rabbi Rubinstein, and to dine together at the table of one of the most prominent Jews of Vilna, where they would have the opportunity to meet the leading Jews of that city and to get a report of all that had taken place there.

I went to the Rabbi myself, and turned over our funds to him, while the American officers departed with the Polish adjutant to investigate the condition of the Russian prisoners. At the Rabbi's home I met our committee, Rabbi Yitzchok Rubinstein, Dr. Yankov Wigodsky, Dr. Shabad, H. Gordon, Yankov Sheskin, Jaffe (the Zionist) and Niger, both of whom had been arrested together with the writer, A. Weiter, who had later been murdered. Both Jaffe and Niger, after sentence of death had actually been passed upon them, had been freed through the personal intervention of the Bishop of Vilna, to whom Rabbi Rubinstein had appealed in their behalf. Jaffe and Niger had been severely tortured in prison, and the scars were still visible.

The Dread Fear That Still Reigns in Vilna

UPON the face of every member of the committee could be seen the panic and the fear that the Jews of Vilna are now living through. They handed me a report of the protest against the pogroms which the Jewish Kehilla intended to make to the Polish Government. This report furnishes details of the occurrences in Vilna during the first few days after the Poles had entered the city. Many details not in the report were told me by Rabbi Rubinstein, who was very courageous and, at the risk of his own life, prepared to help to the limit of his capacity. He told me that on one occasion the Polish soldiers forced several of the victims to dig their own graves before they were killed. I was also given several photographs of the victims. One of these was a photograph of a group of victims who had been disinterred at the request of the rabbi, as he required their pictures in order to recognize them officially so that he might free

Digitized by Google

their wives from their marriage contracts. But the most terrible impression that they left with me was that the danger was not yet over. Every day new murders were committed without trial or justice, solely because of whim or malice on the part of some cruel soldier. Every day newly dug, secret graves are discovered where innocent victims have been buried. Venerable Jews were dragged by the soldiers into the stables to clean horses, and there the bloodiest jokes were played on them, that cost many their lives, many their health, and others their reason. One day a group of soldiers hunted up some Jews, and pointing rifles at them, told them that they would be shot. The fact was that this scene was taken for a Polish moving picture, which is now exhibited in the motion picture theatres of the city under the title, "How Polish Soldiers Fight the Bolsheviki." But this "innocent" joke cost one of the victims his reason. The life of every Jew in Vilna is at the mercy of any Pole; and this terrible insecurity, this dread fear that reigns in the Jewish streets in Vilna, may be read on every Jewish face and in the eyes of every Jew whom you meet in the streets.

As to the general condition of the Jews in Vilna the Rabbi and the committee told me that of the 60,000 Jews who are in Vilna more than twenty per cent were refugees who had been expelled from Kovno early in the war. All of these require help. Altogether, in Vilna, 20,000 Jews registered as in need of relief; and of these 10,000 are totally dependent. The committee manages people's kitchens that also receive support from the city administration, and children's homes.

Gathering First-Hand Evidence

THE general economic situation in Vilna is very bad. The following incident will serve as an illustration:

Desiring to have the American officers intimately acquainted with the Jewish representatives in Vilna, I had arranged with them to dine at a private Jewish home. I counted on many of my friends who, I knew, had been very rich before the war; but in all Vilna, even among the richest Jews, I could not find a single family in a position to invite the American officers for dinner! When I made the proposal to Herr G., whom I knew to have been very rich before the war, he reddened with embarrassment and muttered something, shamefacedly, about his house being in the hands of the military. I received similar replies from others. I noticed that they wondered at my naïveté. Finally I was compelled to take the American officers to a public restaurant for dinner.

After a long delay, which was painfully disquieting for me, the American officers came to the Rabbi's home. Later I learned that the Polish military authorities had done everything in their power to prevent

Digitized by Google

the American officers from going to the Rabbi. They had, for example, invited the American officers to dine at the Officers' Casino, but the Americans, having engaged to dine with me, declined the invitation. Later we all ate with the American officers at the Bristol, where I met the old writer Ansky, his spirit and health broken. He presented me with a photograph of the murdered writer, A. Weiter, which had been taken at the graveyard. My brief talk with Ansky made a terrible impression on me and left me unnerved. He fell on my breast, with sobs and tears. After dinner I took the officers to Rabbi Rubinstein, where they met the leading Jews of the city, from whom they received a full report of what had taken place in Vilna during the pogroms, and of what was still going on. Later I convinced myself of the sympathetic impression which Rabbi Rubinstein and the other members of the committee had made upon the members of the American Mission.

The rabbi denied that the Jews were in sympathy with the Bolsheviki. On the contrary, the Jews, as a rule, suffered from the Bolsheviki, because they were all merchants, and when the Poles entered the city the Jews were ready to meet them as liberators. "Under the old Russian Czarist government," further declared the Rabbi, "we suffered as Jews. When the Germans occupied Vilna we no longer suffered as Jews but as human beings, together with the rest of the population, whom they robbed of everything. Then, when the Bolsheviki came, we suffered as bourgeois. And now that the Poles have set foot in Vilna we suffer again as Jews. But these sufferings are more horrible than anything we have as yet experienced."

Polish Explanations and Excuses

BEFORE I left Vilna I again visited the commandature, as I had promised Captain Tomaskefsky. I was forced to summon all my energy to restrain myself from uttering that cry of protest that was rending me. I told him quite openly what I had learned in Vilna and the impression that it had made on me and on the American officers. The captain stood pat; he insisted that the Jews had shot at Polish troops, and that there were many tactless elements among the Jews. He confessed that in the Polish army there was great hatred against Jews. "And after all," he constantly advanced as an argument, "our army is only three months old!"

"General Pilsudsky, whom I represent, is certainly against such actions on the part of the Polish army," he told me (this last was also confirmed by Rabbi Rubinstein to the American officers). And again the familiar quotation that the Polish people are "schlachtnye," a "noble" people, and pogroms are foreign to its spirit.

Digitized by Google

To this I replied that America had raised an army of three million men in the course of six months, and that we had never heard of a single instance of such murder in the American army. Moreover, since their army is only three months old and their soldiers hate Jews and are uncontrollable, it becomes all the more imperative to take strict action against such violence. Only by the infliction of the death penalty can such murders be checked.

The captain urged me to remain in Vilna to have the opportunity to speak to the commander, and again assured me that the entire matter was caused by a misunderstanding between the Jews and the Polish soldiery and that I should help to clear up the misunderstanding. Not wishing, however, to remain in Vilna without the protection of the American officers, I promised the captain that I would visit Vilna again. Moreover, I had made arrangements to return to Kovno with these officers.

The Best Safeguard: the American Uniform

WHILE in Kovno I arranged a meeting between the Jewish committee, consisting of Dr. Rabinovich, Herr Wolff and Dr. Soloveichik, and the American mission. The Kovno Jews gave the American officers a report of the conditions among the Jews in the new State of Lithuania. The Kovno Jews, terrorized by the Vilna pogroms, are living in a state of panic. They do not have too great confidence in the new Lithuanian army, which is being recruited from the lowest elements, many of whom are Russian Bolshevik soldiers and Poles, and who are, moreover, being drilled by old régime Russians and Polish officers. And although the Lithuanian Government is against the persecution and massacre of the Jews, it is not in a position to control its army, and many robberies are committed against the Jews, and in some cases even murders, on the part of Lithuanian soldiers. The only hope for the Jews, sad to say, is that the German army, which is still in Lithuania, does not permit anti-Jewish excesses. Thus, when Polish proclamations appeared in Kovno inciting pogroms for the 22nd of May, the German commander sent German patrols to safeguard the city. Should the German army withdraw from Lithuania, the Jews would be in serious danger. The sole security against pogroms can, in the opinion of the Kovno Jews, come only through the presence of an American mission which should accompany the advancing Polish and Lithuanian armies.

It is my conviction that until normal conditions are re-established in the Russian territories the only method of safeguarding against pogroms is the presence of the American uniform. The essential difference between the present pogroms and those of the Czarist régime lies in this: whereas the Russian government would announce and stimulate the

Digitized by Google

pogroms—in Lithuania, at least, they are against the interests and wishes of the government. In part they are the result of external forces, but chiefly they are the result of the dissatisfaction and bitterness which has accumulated among the poor during the many years of war and hunger. The blind mob does not seek those who are really guilty. It throws itself upon the weakest, upon those who have the least protection. For example, when the Lithuanian army entered the town of Ponevezh, it began to attack all the Jews, in order to settle their score with the Bolsheviki. The German commander held them back, saying to them: "You settle with your own, Lithuanian Bolsheviki, and let the Jews settle with their own Bolsheviki." And when the Lithuanians saw that the Germans defended the Jews, they were seized with fear. And it is only due to this fact that the Ponevezh pogrom was a comparatively minor one, and unknown to the world. Otherwise we might have had a second Pinsk or Vilna. And who knows what may come tomorrow?

I repeat that the only method of safeguarding the Jews against pogroms, in the present critical moment, is to have two or three American officers in uniform stationed in the cities of Poland and Lithuania, and accompanying the advancing armies, for the purpose of observing the Polish and Lithuanian soldiers. Where there is a vigilant eye to watch over the Jews, where the Polish and Lithuanian military know that they may not take advantage of the darkness to work their evil deeds, but that, on the contrary, full publicity will be given to their acts—that alone will be enough to restrain them from their bloody outrages until normal times shall again arrive.

Sholom Asch

Digitized by Google

The Ordeal

By Martin Feinstein

BABYLON is fallen, without thunder, without pride,
Waste upon the fields, reeds by the water-side,
Her warrior kings are vanished, satraps, and counsellors,
The wild grain grows in her temples, puff-balls, and prickly burs,—
There is a sound of music in the grass when the south wind stirs.

Horn, and pipe, and harp, trigon, and psaltery,—
"What is your God," cried the king, "in power unto me?
Unto my city of joy, unto my god of gold?"
Over the royal dust ant and lizard make bold,
The wild ass feeds in the court, and the hungry ravens scold.

"In the whining fires of the furnace let them glorify their Lord,
And prove him greater than mine, I am Babylon's sword,
And smite to the death." The days of many rains return,
The fires the great king built have long since ceased to burn,
Where ancient Babylon stood flourish the bramble and fern.

Shadrach, Meshach, Abed-nego, soldiers of God,
Passed through the fires of hell at Nebuchadnezzar's nod,
Idol-smashers of old, told the great king that he lied.
Babylon is fallen, without thunder, without pride,
Waste upon the fields, reeds by the water-side.

Digitized by Google

The Hebrew Poets as Historians

By Nina Salaman

THE subject of the Hebrew Poets as Historians is such a very big one that soon after rashly promising to write this paper I felt dismayed at what I had undertaken. The subject is so wide because almost every Hebrew poet is, in a sense, a historian, his work reflecting the spirit of his age or telling the story of the past. And when one remembers that we have about 900 Hebrew poets of the Middle Ages alone, and that Zunz has counted as many as 1,816 elegies describing or referring to the sufferings of Israel through those dark centuries, in addition to hundreds of other poems containing history in one form or another, one realizes with a feeling of helplessness how inadequate a short paper on such a subject must be. Nevertheless, without further prelude, I shall try to show, as far as I can, the poet's way of recording history.

NINA SALAMAN, born in Derby, Eng., the daughter of Arthur Davis (in whose memory Israel Zangwill and R. Travers Herford have delivered the first two memorial lectures, published recently in The Menorah Journal), *began translating mediæval Hebrew poems at an early age. These translations were collected in the volume, "Songs in Exile." The Nina Davis known to so many who treasure this volume is the wife of Dr. Redcliffe Salaman, who recently served as Senior Medical Officer to the Judæans regiment in Palestine. Mrs. Salaman has also written a volume of original poems, as well as authoritative articles on Hebrew poetry.*

History As the Poet Sees It

IT is, no doubt, felt, and quite naturally, that the poet cannot be regarded as an exact historian. This is probably true in so far as detailed events go, but I am not sure that he is not quicker to grasp broad essentials and thus may be more fitted to give us a larger and at the same time a more vivid picture of his own age, of the past, and of his idealistic conception of the future. He may speak in dark sayings, he will not tell you dates, he may even group together events of different periods, as when he collects ten martyrs out of ages widely apart and sets them before you as in one vision; but he will give you perhaps a truer impression of the meaning of the passing show than will those who record the most exact details.

We have, however, to remember that it is essential to read the poet's

Digitized by Google

records in the spirit in which he writes them, and to see the truth of his words through his idealism.

Matthew Arnold in the first chapter of his *Literature and Dogma* speaks of "terms used in a passing or fluid way, as men use terms in common discourse or in eloquence or poetry, to describe approximately, but only approximately, what they have present before their minds, but do not profess that their mind does or can grasp exactly or adequately"; and he says "that such terms people have blunderingly taken in a fixed or rigid manner, as if they were symbols with as definite and fully grasped a meaning as the names *line* or *angle*, and proceeded to use them on this supposition. . . ."

"But if one desires," he continues, "to deal with this mistake thoroughly, one must observe it in that supreme term with which religion is filled—the term *God*. . . . But in truth, the word 'God' is used in most cases . . . by mankind in general, as by no means a term of science or exact knowledge, but a term of poetry or eloquence, a term *thrown out*, so to speak, at a not fully grasped object of the speaker's consciousness,—a literary term, in short; and mankind mean different things by it as their consciousness differs."

This quotation may seem to turn from our point, but I think it bears not a little on our attempt to look at history from the poet's point of view.

The Misreading of Poetic Metaphor

FROM the many instances in the Bible of history told by poets, there will be time only for two or three examples. I will take first the short poem in the 10th chapter of Joshua:

"Then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel; and he said in the sight of Israel:

'Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon.'
And the Sun stood still, and the Moon stayed,
Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies.

Is not this written in the book of Jashar?"

After thus quoting, as he states, from the book Jashar, the prose writer continues:

"And the sun stayed in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down about a whole day. And there was no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man; for the Lord fought for Israel."

Here, possibly, we have, at once, a good instance of the too literal reading of history as expressed in poetry. The old song was, no doubt,

Digitized by Google

a mere poetic effusion of enthusiasm, while the prose writer fails to place himself upon the same height, and gives us a literal prosaic account of what was intended as a flight of fancy. Cheyne, in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, says: "With a touch of primitive feeling, Syrian peasants still cry in song to the Sun to hasten his going down, that they may rest."

I think the Bible has suffered much at our hands from similar misreading and misinterpretation of poetic metaphor.

We come again upon an example of the contrast between the poet's and the annalist's conception of history in the fourth and fifth chapters of Judges. Here we have the story of Deborah and the exploits of Barak and Jael, wife of Heber the Kenite, told first in prose, then touched upon again in that wonderful war-song of Deborah. Certain characteristic points of difference must strike us. The prose writer, telling of the Judges of Israel, describes Deborah as a prophetess who judged Israel at that time and who sat under the palm tree of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel in the hill-country of Ephraim, while the children of Israel came up to her for judgment. In Deborah's song she says only this of herself:

". . . Until that I, Deborah, arose,
That I arose *a mother in Israel.*"

Later, in the prose account, Jael invites Sisera into her tent,—"Turn in, my lord," she says, "turn in to me; fear not," and after thus offering him hospitality she slays him while he sleeps. Not so in the song. Jael is here idealized. Sisera appears to come to the door but not to enter the tent.

"Blessed above women shall Jael be,
The wife of Heber the Kenite,
Above women in the tent shall she be blessed.
Water he asked, milk she gave;
In a lordly bowl she brought him curd."[1]

Nothing is said of his lying down in the tent.

The verse translated as describing the tent-pin and the hammer should, according to the laws of parallelism, refer to a single weapon with which Jael gives him a blow causing him to fall at her feet:

"At her feet he sunk, he fell, he lay;
At her feet he sunk, he fell;
Where he sunk, there he fell down dead."

These points seem to suggest a finer conception of the heroine in the poetic version of the story, which, I may add, is said to be the earlier.

[1]Judges V, 24, 25.

Digitized by Google

The Psalmist's Interpretation of History

BEFORE passing on to post-Biblical poets, I want to touch briefly upon one of the narrative Psalms. Let us choose the 105th. We find it interpreting the facts which history tells in prose; celebrating the fulfilment of the covenant of which Genesis records the promise. The narrative Psalms give that note of continuity of purpose in Israel's history which we might miss in the prose records. With a wide sweep they bind the episodes together into a whole:

> Remember His marvellous works that He hath done,
> His wonders, and the judgments of His mouth;
> O ye seed of Abraham His servant,
> Ye children of Jacob, His chosen ones.
>
> He is the Lord your God;
> His judgments are in all the earth.
> He hath remembered His covenant forever,
> The word which He commanded to a thousand generations;
> The covenant which He made with Abraham,
> And His oath unto Isaac;
> And he established it unto Jacob for a statute,
> To Israel for an everlasting covenant;
> Saying: 'Unto thee will I give the land of Canaan,
> The lot of your inheritance.'

You notice the promise is made individually to each patriarch, but the idea of continuity is marked by the change of pronoun at the end:

> 'Unto *thee* will I give the land of Canaan,
> The lot of *your* inheritance.'

As the Psalm goes on, God's hand is traced in each event:

> And He called a famine upon the land;
> He broke the whole staff of bread.
> He sent a man before them;
> Joseph was sold for a servant.
> His feet they hurt with fetters,
> His soul entered into the iron.

In the prose version, too, in Genesis, there is a certain pathos:

"For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews; and here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon."[1]

But the poem makes us realize Joseph's suffering more intimately.

In verse 39 the cloud by day is evidently regarded as a canopy to shelter the people on their way from the rays of the sun, showing God's continual care.

[1]Genesis xl, 15.

Digitized by Google

The poet writes clearly with a purpose. He lays no stress in this Psalm on Israel's discontent in the wilderness, but on God's goodness and the goal in view for his people. This narrative reaches to the end of the wandering in the wilderness, when the whole meaning and purpose of the story, retold by the Psalmist, is made clear by the climax of the last verses:

> And He gave them the lands of the nations,
> And they took the labor of the peoples in possession;
> *That they might keep His statutes,*
> *And observe His laws.*
> Praise ye the Lord.

Kirkpatrick in his commentary (*Cambridge Bible*) observes that this and the two following Psalms "may be said to form a trilogy. . . . They refer, broadly speaking, to three successive periods of the national history." This is true, but I think they describe also and even more clearly three different *aspects* of the national history—first, God's memory of His covenant, and His purpose for Israel; secondly, Israel's unfaithfulness and God's pity; and thirdly, Israel's sorrows, God's deliverance, and Israel's thankfulness.

Sidelights on History from "The Wisdom of Solomon"

THE idealistic attitude of the ancient poet did not change with the passing ages. *The Wisdom of Solomon*, said to have been written not earlier than the second century B. C., gives us history in the light of the action of wisdom upon events. It shows us wisdom as the savior of the righteous, and the lack of it as the cause of the disasters of history.

"Give me wisdom, her that sitteth by Thee on Thy throne," cries the writer. In a favorite form of eastern imagery, Wisdom is personified as a woman:

> Send her forth out of the holy heavens,
> And from the throne of Thy glory bid her come,
> That being present with me she may toil with me
> And that I may learn what is well pleasing before Thee.

From the beginning of the Genesis story the influence of Wisdom is traced:

> Wisdom guarded to the end the first formed father of the world that was created alone,
> And delivered him out of his own transgression,
> And he gave him strength to get dominion over all things.

Though the names of the heroes are not given, their identity is clear throughout; as when Wisdom watches over Jacob:

Digitized by Google

She guarded him from enemies,
And from those that lay in wait she kept him safe,
And over his sore conflict she watched as judge,
That he might know that godliness is more powerful than all.

This poetic version of our people's history brings out, moreover, in strong relief, the justice and forbearance in God's treatment of the world. He could make an end of His enemies in a moment, but He gives them opportunities of repentance.

A fine sense of proportion is shown in the fantastic picture in chapter XI of this same work, the *Wisdom of Solomon:*

For Thine all-powerful hand,
That created the world out of formless matter,
Lacked not means to send upon them a multitude of bears or fierce lions,
Or new-created wild beasts, full of rage, of unknown kind,
Either breathing out a blast of fiery breath,
Or blowing forth from their nostrils noisome smoke,
Or flashing dreadful sparkles from their eyes;
Which had power not only to consume them by their violence,
But to destroy them even by the terror of their sight,
Yea, and without these might they have fallen by a single breath,
Being pursued by Justice, and scattered abroad by the breath of Thy power.
But by measure and number and weight Thou didst order all things.

And the beautiful verses which follow, carry forward this thought:

For to be greatly strong is Thine at all times;
And the might of Thine arm, who shall withstand?
Because the whole world before Thee is as a grain in a balance,
And as a drop of dew that at morning cometh down upon the earth.
But Thou hast mercy on all men, because Thou hast power to do all things,
And thou overlookest the sins of men to the end they may repent.
For Thou lovest all things that are,
And abhorrest none of the things which Thou didst make;
For never wouldst Thou have formed anything if Thou didst hate it.
And how would anything have endured, except Thou hadst willed it?
Or that which was not called by Thee, how would it have been preserved?
But Thou sparest all things, because they are Thine,
O Sovereign Lord, Thou lover of men's lives.

Ben Sira As Historian

I AM tempted to quote even further from the fine poetic passages of this book—how the sins of the "old inhabitants of the holy land" are recalled, and how it was God's counsel

to destroy them by the hands of our fathers
That the land which in Thy sight is the most precious of all lands
Might receive a worthy colony of God's servants

Digitized by Google

and how the poet works out his conception of God's way—but I must pass on to other poems. I am not afraid of straying from my subject, for this is almost impossible, the difficulty being only to pick one's steps among the tangled network of paths trodden by the poets in their wanderings as they sang their way through history. Another writer of the Maccabæan age, at least half a century older than the author of the *Wisdom of Solomon*, is known in the Apocrypha as *Ecclesiasticus*. His Hebrew name is the *Son of Sira*, or *Sirach*. He, too, is a historian, particularly as regards his fine and familiar chapters XLIV-L written in praise of famous men; but in passing, I will dwell only upon chapter L, because the description there of Simon, the High Priest, the son of Onias, is reproduced in form, if not in exact phraseology, in the liturgy for the Day of Atonement.

"How was he honored, in the midst of the people in his coming out of the sanctuary," exclaims Ben Sira. "He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at the full: As the sun shining upon the temple of the Most High, and as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds: And as the flower of roses in the spring of the year, as lilies by the rivers of waters, and as the branches of the frankincense tree in the time of summer: As fire and incense in the censer, and as a vessel of beaten gold set with all manner of precious stones: And as a fair olive tree budding forth fruit, and as a cypress tree which groweth up to the clouds."

The *Abodah*, or description of the service performed in the Temple on the Day of Atonement, recalling in some degree the foregoing, has, since the destruction, taken the place of that service. In this way the poet has become not only the narrator; he has adopted, as it were, the rôle of the actor. His achievement takes its place on the great day, just as, of old, the events which it describes, occurred. Thus has the poet shaped the continuity of history. Even in a restored Palestine, it may well be that the poetic *Abodah* will live on while the need of an actual sacrificial service is no longer felt.

The Sad Change from Fact to Memory

FOLLOWING a description of the radiance of the world at the close of the Day of Atonement, the concluding poems, composed by three of our Spanish poets—Gabirol, Jehudah Halevi, and Ibn Ezra, still revive the sadness of the change from fact to memory, even while it is the memory itself which now appeals to us. These poems have all one refrain:

"Happy the eye which saw all this!
Only at the hearing of it our soul grieveth."

Digitized by Google

Mrs. Lucas has made a good paraphrase of Gabirol's poem. Here are two of its verses:

Happy he who saw of old
The high priest, with gems and gold
All adorned from crown to hem,
Tread thy courts, Jerusalem,
Till he reached the sacred place
Where the Lord's especial grace
Ever dwelt, the centre of the whole.
Happy he whose eyes
Saw at last the cloud of glory rise,
But to hear of it afflicts our soul.

* * * * *

Happy he who saw the walls
Of the temple's radiant halls,
Where the golden cherubim
Hide the ark's recesses dim,
Heard the singer's choral song,
Saw the Levites' moving throng,
Saw the golden censer and the bowl,
Happy he whose eyes
Saw at last the cloud of glory rise,
But to hear of it afflicts our soul.[1]

Of more exact historical interest are points in the High Priest's prayer, such as the request (likewise referred to in the Palestinian Talmud) that travellers' prayers for fine weather be not regarded, if rain be needed for the remainder of creation; and the special prayer for the men of Sharon—that "their houses may not become their graves." This Sharon is said to be the southwestern Sharon along the sandy plain of the seacoast, where the houses were in continual danger of being buried in the sand, and had to be rebuilt every two years. And it may be interesting, too, to note here that the men of Sharon were not on that account granted exemption from military service in war, although a man would in the ordinary way obtain it if he had built a house and had not yet lived in it.

The Apocrypha is again reflected in the Liturgy where the story of Judith appears in a "Jozer" or morning hymn, for the first Sabbath of Hanukkah. The piece has little poetic merit, but its occurrence as a Hanukkah hymn is interesting as seeming to point to the possibility that Judith, in spite of the obvious difference of date, may have been looked upon as a Maccabæan heroine as Judas was the hero, to honor the noble part taken by women in the story of the Maccabees.

[1]Alice Lucas, *The Jewish Year*, p. 67.

Digitized by Google

The Poet as Medieval Chronicler

WE cannot always draw a line of distinction between the poet and the prose-historian. Some of our medieval chroniclers were also poets. Take, for example, the Book of Genealogies,[1] better known as the Chronicle of Ahimaaz, which contains, among more personal records, a history of the early settlements of the Jews in the South of Italy, and of the Saracen invasion of Sicily in the year 872. This Chronicle was written in 1055 by one Ahimaaz ben Paltiel, born at Capua in 1017. It is composed in rhymed prose—thus here we have prose and poetry meeting halfway—in the style of the Arabs, and of the later Hebrew poets, Joseph Zabara, Al Harizi, and Immanuel of Rome.

Covering the period from 850 to 1054, it is a record of the writer's own family, interspersed with miraculous stories and authentic history. It appears that Titus brought the family to Italy among the captives from Jerusalem. Ahimaaz mentions Amittai the poet as one of his ancestors, and his son Shefatiah, one of the most prolific of our poets of the ninth century. He gives us stories of Aaron of Babylon, the wonder-worker, who was reputed to be the teacher of Kalonymos of Lucca, the head of a family of poets and scholars who migrated from Italy to Mainz in the ninth century and who were practically wiped out by the barbarities of the first Crusade. The Chronicle is full of accounts of wonderful deeds and superhuman efforts. It is noteworthy that its author, best known as a chronicler, was at the same time a liturgical poet.

Even in legal documents snatches of poetry may be discovered. We have, for instance, the poetic opening of the Letter of Cushiel,[2] which, by the way, is of considerable interest, throwing new light on the story of the four captive scholars. It is, in fact, almost impossible to take up a historical document without finding some poetic introduction or invocation. Sometimes, too, one meets, in an ordinary legal contract, quite a dramatic presentation which might almost be a scene in a play.[3]

A Poet's History of Poetry

ANOTHER phase of the poet as historian is his criticism of other poets. Whether, as a general rule, a poet is a good critic of his fellow-poets is a separate question, but certain it is that Judah Alharisi's chapter on the poets of Spain, in his *Tahkemoni*, written early in the thirteenth century, is a wonderfully living and fascinating document. In

[1] *Medieval Jewish Chronicles.* Published by Dr. Neubauer (Oxford, 1895). The Chronicle of Ahimaaz exists in a unique MS. preserved in the Cathedral Library of Toledo.

[2] Schechter, *Jewish Quarterly Review,* Vol. XI, p. 643.

[3] See *Jewish Quarterly Review,* Vol. XI, p. 673.

Digitized by Google

this chapter the hero, at a certain festive board, enlarges upon the glories of the Hebrew poets of Spain to other guests. I can only quote a few lines from some of his observations:

"The songs of the sons of Spain are strong and sweet as though carved out of a flame of fire . . ."

He speaks of the many poets, remembered and forgotten, preceding Samuel Halevi, usually known as Samuel Ha-Naggid, of the eleventh century, most of whose songs he says are deep and difficult, and needing commentary; and he talks of Hasdai, calling him "the father of orphaned song."

But among the throng of poets described, I will quote only a few of his words in praise of Solomon Gabirol and Jehuda Halevi.

Of Gabirol he says that:

"He alone went up the highest ascent of song . . .

* * * * * * * *

For the songs of all the singers which came before him, in face of his were wind and void. . . . And those who came after him learnt of his way, and received the spirit of song from him. And God anointed his song king over the songs of his people—the Song of Songs which is Solomon's.

* * * * * * * *

His poetry is too exalted for the knowledge of all of us—and who shall go up into heaven and fetch it down for us?"

I will pass at once to the last of the group, Jehuda Halevi. "The Levite, Rabbi Jehuda," as Harisi calls him:

"He is the right-hand pillar of the house of song.

* * * * * * * *

He wakened his spear against the giants, and left the heroes of singing slain.

* * * * * * * *

He broke into the treasure-house of song and took the spoil thereof and all the precious things, and he went out again and shut the gate behind him. And all who have gone forth in his footsteps to learn how his songs are wrought, have not achieved even unto the dust of his chariot wheels. But all the singers take up his words and kiss the place where his feet have passed."

The writer proceeds to praise separately the various types of Jehuda's songs, the Piyut, the songs of praise, the prayers, the elegies, the lighter songs and letters, wherein he says, "the whole beauty of poetry may be found, . . . as though it were drawn from the Holy Spirit."

(To be concluded)

Digitized by Google

If God Had Known

By Hortense Flexner

IF GOD had known,
In the long, starless night,
Before the first dawn shed
Its gleam on cloud and wave in chaos rolled;
That one—a child—an instant's wingéd gold,
Should for her body's hunger thus be sold;
O, would He then have said,
"Let There Be Light"!

If God had known
Before His hand gave birth
To moon and star, flame-swayed,
How this frail lad, chained far from cloud and sky
Should for his dream in darkening shadows die,
A lad of wind and light, with laughing eye,
O, would He then have made
The fruitful earth?

If He had known,
When in the seething murk
He bound the waters wild,
And hung the skies before Him for a veil,
Two souls should yearn and catch a glimpse and fail,
Wait in the gray till passion had grown stale,
O, would He then have smiled
Upon His work?

Hortense Flexner

Digitized by Google

A Revival of Jewish Music

By Joseph Reider

(*Concluded*)

IN the first portion of this article, printed in the August issue, Dr. Reider, after pointing out the evidences of a wealth of Jewish music, in the melodic sense, in the biblical and mediæval periods, describes the effort to revive a national Jewish music in our own day, based chiefly upon the Jewish folksong, in which a keen popular interest has been aroused.

I MUST revert here to the charge frequently made that the Jewish folksong, unlike the folksong of other tribes and nations, is not altogether indigenous and independent but partakes of characteristics of the songs of neighboring peoples. This charge is supported by a reference to the Moorish traits of the songs of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews or the Russian elements in the melodies of the Russian Jews. Traces of foreign origin have been found even in our much vaunted national hymn *Hatikva*, which exhibits a striking resemblance to the main motive in Smetana's symphonic poem entitled *On the Moldau*. But it must be maintained that such points of contact do not invalidate the national character of a song. Melodies differ from verbal compositions in that they travel far and wide, penetrating even the remotest corners of the inhabited globe; but in every new locality they assume special characteristics before they become naturalized, and it is these additional nuances that stamp them as national.

An example may be adduced from Arabic music. As told in the *Kitab el-agani*, the great poetical anthology of the Arabs, Ibn Misgah, a negro of Mecca, during the reign of the Caliph Moawiya the First (A. D. 661-680), listened to the songs of certain Persian builders from Irak, and picked up such of the tunes as pleased his fancy best, adapting them to Arabic poems. Later on he even went to Persia and Greece to study their music, but in introducing the airs of these countries into Arabia he modified them in such a way as befits the Arab ear. There are numerous instances of folksongs common to two or more nationalities. Carl Engel (*Introduction to the Study of National Music*, p. 2) refers to the well-known German "Dessauer Marsch" which, he maintains, is of Italian origin. "After Prince Leopold of Dessau had stormed Turin (in 1706), the conquered Italians met him with this march to do him homage. The taking melody pleased the German soldiers, and soon their trumpeters began to blow it upon their instruments. When it had been transmitted by them to Germany, the people soon germanized its Italian

Digitized by Google

flourishes." Engel refers also to a curious instance of transplantation in Courland. Of a number of German songs, translated into the Lettish language, and introduced into Courland by some gentlemen, a few became popular among the peasants. After some length of time these songs exhibited a remarkable change: originally in major, they were now sung partly in minor, and a rude kind of accompaniment was added. An instance familiar to everybody is the melody of "My Country" which in England is sung to "God Save the King" and in Germany to "Heil dir im Siegerkranz"; yet every one of these nations considers it its own.

And so it is true that many Jewish folksongs find their counterpart in the song collections of other peoples, which is natural under the circumstances existing between Israel and the nations for two thousand years. But when these melodies were transplanted into the Jewish fold they underwent a process of transmutation in conformity with the Jewish spirit and character. Major became minor; cadences on the tonic were changed to the mediant; the leading-tone, the most dependent tone in the diatonic scale, turned independent and often figured as a climax; the frequent progression in thirds and fifths gave place to augmented seconds and fourths. Moreover, certain melismata and roulades were added to each cadence, resulting in a gloomy and crepuscular atmosphere in keeping with the physical surroundings. The foreign tunes, in other words, were Judaized, and henceforth they became the property of the Jewish masses—folksongs in the true sense of the word.

The Inspiration for a Great Sonata or Symphony

BUT more important, from an artistic standpoint, than the Jewish folksong *per se* is the fact of its utilization in larger compositions, such as the sonata and symphony, without which no modern music can exist. Very often, while listening to the strongly racial creations of Liszt, Dvořák, and Tschaikowsky, I have yearned for a great Jewish composer who could lay hold upon the many genuine tunes current in the dusky ghettos and wield them into a mighty symphony expressing Jewish fears and hopes, Jewish passions and emotions, throughout the ages. Such a contribution, sounding the abysmal depths of Jewish misery and the loftiest pinnacles of Jewish faith, would be a greater testimonial to us than a thousand books trying to depict our situation among the nations. Yet this dream is nearing realization and the difficult task will surely be consummated in the not distant future. Already there are symptoms of individual efforts among some of our young composers, who are indefatigable in their search for an adequate form and a distinct style. I wish to call attention particularly to a group of composers in Russia, among them Engel, Schalitt, Skliar, Shitomirsky, and Milner,

Digitized by Google

all pupils of the Russian master Rimsky-Korsakoff, who employ Jewish songs in their compositions for piano and orchestra and strive otherwise for a singular and original expression. In France Maurice Ravel follows the same course. Even Leo Ornstein, of New York, whose ultra-modern methods puzzle the entire musical world, makes use sometimes of Hebrew songs and chants, as may be seen from his latest sonata for 'cello and piano dedicated to the 'cellist Hans Kindler. In fact, every Jewish composer is susceptible to this modern trend which is bound to lead to the cloud-capped eminence of fame.

Rimsky-Korsakoff, who was so sensitive to the national idiom of a people, stated on more than one occasion that a time will yet come when a Jewish Glinka will be born. To-day his Jewish pupils, laboring in the field of Jewish music, vie with one another for that much-coveted title. Whether or not a "Jewish Glinka" is latent in their midst it is hard to tell, but their influence is far-reaching and is exerted even on non-Jewish circles. They are responsible for some Jewish elements in the works of Rimsky-Korsakoff, Glazounoff, Krein, and others, and generally for the interest evinced by the Neo-Russian school for ghetto songs. While Jewish composers like Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer, Rubinstein and Mahler, were loath to utilize their own folksongs, a genuine Russian like Moussorgsky introduced two Jewish melodies in his cantata *Joshua:* the "Song of Solomon" and the "Plaint of the Women of Amoria." "New times, new songs." The new current of life that circulates in the reawakened body of the Jewish people is affecting even the outside world, who are dazzled at the modern phenomenon of *Jupiter redivivus*, and, with undisguised sympathy and genuine good will, endeavor to draw their inspiration from it. This explains the rumor from Catholic Rome that the poet Gabriele d'Annunzio is preparing a text for an opera dealing with the pregnant history of the Jews. The score is to contain a number of Jewish traditional melodies whose authenticity and antiquity are beyond doubt. This is only a beginning, and other works are sure to follow. But after all, this outside interest is only incidental. The real creation of Jewish music can only come through Jewish composers who have lived a Jewish life among their brethren and witnessed their weal and woe, hope and tribulation, and who, above everything else, believe in the future of their people.

The Work of a Great Jewish Composer: Ernest Bloch

OF these more and more are forcing themselves to the front, but the most notable instance is Ernest Bloch of Geneva, Switzerland, now resident in New York. For years Bloch has been struggling to find a medium of expression, a new style for his ideas about Jews and Judaism,

Digitized by Google

and after many failures he succeeded in creating something novel and original which at once made him prominent and brought him to the fore as a great Jewish composer. His originality manifests itself in a number of devices employed dexterously and opportunely. Among these is the elliptic rhythm with its element of surprise and excitement, and pure minor with its vague cadences and suspended finales, Oriental chromaticism and enharmony, continuous modulation producing a spontaneous change of mood and color, and, regretful to say, some dissonance and cacophony à la Strauss and Schönberg. Not less conspicuous is his handling of the orchestra: the reeds are usurped at the expense of the strings, the melody being allotted to the former; within the strings the 'cellos have priority over the other catgut species; the brasses and the Turkish battery are strongly emphasized, producing a rather ponderous effect.

Whether this ultra-modern system constitutes Jewish music is a question open to dispute and not to be settled with any degree of finality. After all, any standard is bound to be arbitrary, since we know so little about the nature and constitution of ancient Hebraic music. We cannot resuscitate it from Biblical records, just as we cannot reproduce Paganini's compositions even from the masterful description in Heine's *Florentiner Nächte*. But there is this to be said in favor of Bloch, that besides his strong Orientalism he seeks to imprint a Jewish stamp on his creations through the introduction not only of Jewish folksongs but also synagogal chants. This principle, as has been pointed out above, is the only true criterion for a national music, everything else being nondescript and universal. That Bloch avails himself of it may be seen from his unfinished symphony *Israel*, a work of great effect and infinite beauty, which symbolizes the spiritual significance of the Day of Atonement and winds up with a graceful and impressive chorale "Adonai Elohim." The same tendency is evident in his three Jewish poems (*Danse, Rite, Cortège Funèbre*) which, according to a musical authority, "are essentially Hebraic in spirit and expression; impressive, genuinely musical, rich in color and of remarkable originality of idiom and mastery of rhythm. The *Danse* is exotic; a chromatic phantasy, now languorous, now passionate, ending with the sudden swirl of molten draperies around quickly tensed limbs. The second movement is less colorful, but more deeply emotional, suggesting the solemn observance of an ancient and impressive ritual. But of the three, the final movement, *Cortège Funèbre*, is the most remarkable. It is the embodiment of grief, wherein Fate is inexorable. It depicts the poignancy of a great bereavement; the passionate, but impotent, lamentations of the bereaved; and finally, an abiding peace, sorrowful, yet rising above human frailties." Even more powerful are Bloch's settings of Psalms 114 (When Israel came out of

Digitized by Google

Egypt) and 137 (By the waters of Babylon), the latter being intensely tragic, reaching a climax rarely if ever surpassed by any other composer.

Perhaps the most Jewish of all Bloch's works is his Hebraic rhapsody *Schlomo* for violoncello and full orchestra. It expresses the poignant agony and turbulent anguish of the Jewish soul in a masterly fashion. It summarizes in a few bars and measures the whole history of the Jewish Diaspora whose point of gravity lay in a Prometheus-like ebullition followed by extreme enervation and periodic lethargy, a state of inertia and laissez-faire. As one of the critics characterized it: "It is a large, a poignant, an authentic expression of what is racial in the Jew. It is authentic by virtue of qualities more fundamental than the synagogal modes on which it bases itself, the Semitic pomp and color that inform it. There are moments when one hears in this music the harsh and haughty accents of the Hebrew tongue, sees the abrupt and passionate gestures of the Hebrew soul, feels the titanic burst of energy that created the race, and carried it safely across lands and times, out of the eternal Egypt, through the eternal Red Sea. It is as if an element that has remained unchanged throughout all the ages, an element that is in every Jew, an element by which every Jew must know himself and his descent, were caught up in it, and fixed there."

Jewish Music Must Remain Chiefly Melodic

BLOCH is a direct product of the Jewish revival, and he endeavors to depict this revival in his music. As he emphasizes it himself, the archæological aspect of Israel does not interest him very much as musical material. His creative genius does not deal with skeletons of the past, not even with the evanescent Ghetto type, the overwrought and much abused Golus Jew. He prefers to picture the Jewish soul of the present and its hope in the future. Highly sensitive as he is, he grasps the fleeting hope and agony, joy and sorrow, of the modern Jew and idealizes them in the ethereal realm of tone. The whole psychology of present-day Israel is revealed in a series of tonal sketches and harmonic arabesques of a kaleidoscopic variety, such as even a Debussy or Skriabin might envy. In this respect he resembles the ever youthful Lilien, who, in his perfect forms and gladsome scenes of far distant and happier days, personified young Judea in its untarnished vitality.

Bloch's music, while an auspicious beginning towards a national medium of expression, is by no means the *ultima Thule* of Jewish attainment. It is felt by many that in his great zeal and search for effect he has overstepped the mark and gone beyond the boundary of *utils cum dulci*. There is certainly a suggestion of aping the cubists and futurists in the massive harmonies and crass dissonances which tend to obliterate

Digitized by Google

the beautiful melodic passages. His music often suffers from over-orchestration which master musicians like Beethoven and Brahms knew so well to avoid but which is the stumbling-block of the ultra-modern school. No wonder Von Bülow, with his fine critical acumen, had to lay down his famous reminder: "In the beginning there was melody." Modern in contradistinction to ancient music is a combination of melody and harmony, but this combination must be proportionate and one of the elements should not outweigh the other. With the phenomenal development of the orchestra and consequently of polyphonic music in recent years we are apt to forget the importance and æsthetic value of the homophonic genus which served mankind for thousands of years. Victor Hugo may be right in styling harmony *la lune de l'art*, but after all it stands to melody like embroidery to cloth, and Mozart's dictum "Melody is the essence of music" still holds good. Pure harmonic music may hold sway sometime in the future, but as yet it sounds foreign to our aural nerves. Certainly in the case of Jewish music, which always was and still is largely melodic, it is hardly proper to supersede the old style with a system sprung, Venus-like, fully blown and over-ripe. Even for the sake of a gradual transition a more melodic style, involving less complicated harmonies, is at once imperative. However, Bloch is only a pioneer who points out the way in a new direction and invites others to follow him. His followers may prove more successful in evolving a characteristic idiom. The field is rich, and like every new soil the more you dig it the more it yields. If only Jewish composers would turn to it and be rewarded with a rich harvest instead of playing second fiddle to European celebrities!

The Requisites of a Distinctly Jewish Music

IN conclusion, it behooves us to inquire: What is to be the nature of a new Jewish music? People might differ in details, but there are some cardinal characteristics from which it should not depart if it wants to be distinctly Jewish. In the first place it should be conceived in those oriental modes which throughout the ages have been identified as Jewish. Of these, two stand out as conspicuous: the natural minor or Aeolian mode which is common to all the peoples of the Orient and is identical with modern A minor without sharped seventh, and another mode akin to the Hungarian Gypsy scale with two augmented intervals (C, $D^{\flat}$, E, F, G, $A^{\flat}$, $B^{\flat}$, C). The former is used mostly in religious chants, the latter is peculiar to the folksong and is more characteristically Jewish. It might be stated parenthetically that the Jews have always exhibited a peculiar susceptibility to augmented intervals, i.e., intervals of more than a whole tone, probably because such an interval is best fitted to express acute grief and poignant melancholy as found in the folksong

Digitized by Google

of more than one nation. It underlies the primitive pentatonic scale, i.e., a scale of five whole tones, in which savage tribes of old and even some peoples of to-day express their spiritual yearning for the Elysian fields and the canopies of Nirvana. Major scales should be employed sparingly as not compatible with our manner of expression. This does not necessarily mean that our music must continue to be sad and plaintive, for not always does major express joy and minor pain. The color and mood of a composition depend also on other factors besides the scale: such are time and rhythm and kind of instruments employed. Some instruments, particularly those with valves, lend themselves to sombre combinations. That a minor key may be used for a joyous mood is proved by Mozart's symphony in G minor, whose allegro spurts with laughter, whose andante is bright and serene, whose minuet is flippant, and whose finale spells the joy of life. I have already referred to the new Jewish songs in Palestine which, though written in the minor key, express unbounded hope and joy.

Moreover, it seems to me that one of the requisites is a staid and broad rhythm, except where a terpsichorean mood requires it to become more quick and abrupt. Volatility and effervescence are foreign to the nature of the Jew as a permanent state or condition. An elliptic rhythm, such as is employed by Bloch in his Jewish Poems, is certainly Oriental as far as we know the Orient to-day. It is the rhythm used by all great composers in writing Oriental music. But there are groups within the Orient. What Europe styles Oriental music is really Arab music as heard in the cities and villages of the North-African littoral (Morocco, Algeria, Tripoli and Egypt) and less so in the deserts of Arabia proper. The Syrians of Asia Minor, for instance, differ in their musical style from the Arabs; and so do other Semitic tribes who did not come under the direct influence of the Beduins. As to the rhythm of the ancient Hebrews, not having a living record we are left in the dark. The poetical portions of the Bible are insufficient in themselves to furnish us a clue to this labyrinth. But Eduard Sievers, one of the foremost authorities on metre in Europe to-day, claims to have found in the Bible a uniform and definite rhythm which may be called pseudo-anapæstic, two unaccented syllables of any quantity being followed by a long accented syllable. If this be true, my contention for a broad rhythm might claim the authority of the Bible as support.

The Wealth of Opportunities for a Jewish Composer

ANOTHER condition of the new art is an affluence of melody and dearth of harmony for harmony's sake. Jewish music, to appeal to the Jewish public, must be preponderantly melodic and euphonious instead

Digitized by Google

of over-harmonic and dissonant. We cannot afford to make abortive experiments with harmonic chords and contrapuntal designs in imitation of the younger school of Occidental composers. They have Bach and Beethoven behind them, and not being able to improve upon them by way of melodicity, they are compelled to resort to a new harmonic system, if they want to create something new. With us it is different. We have a wealth of melodic material to whip into shape before we resort to mere harmonies. Let us first work up our folksongs into sonatas, symphonies, operas, and other larger forms of which we possess practically nothing. It is desirable that we develop at least one of these forms to a hitherto unattained height. It might be advisable to develop also the oratorio form. In fact, Jewish songs, being largely religious and devotional, are more appropriate for oratorio than opera. Why should not a Jewish composer seize such pathetic chants as *Leoni* and *Kol Nidre* and make them the basis for a great oratorio dealing with the fateful Diaspora? Such a work might have a great religious in addition to the æsthetic effect. At the present time our Reform congregations, in planning a sacred concert, are compelled to resort to Mendelssohn's *Elijah* or Handel's *Israel in Egypt* and *Judas Maccabæus*, none of which are strictly religious, as may be seen from the fact that for a long time they were performed on the theatrical stage. How much more appropriate it would be if we could give sacred concerts in the synagogue with oratorios based on ancient synagogal chants.

And lastly, let me refer to a point of orchestration. The peculiar color of Jewish music might be augmented by the use of certain instruments known to be in vogue only among Jews. Of these the shofar or ram's horn is the most prominent and of the greatest antiquity, and, having been in use in the synagogue for thousands of years, it should be employed especially in ecclesiastical compositions, such as the oratorio. It is interesting to know that Bloch employs the muffled timbre of this instrument with great effect and strong emphasis when calling attention to the Jewish ritual. Other characteristic instruments, though common to other Semitic tribes, are cymbals, lutes, and lyres, all of which have the capacity to lend a unique color to a piece of music. Our young composers will not be long in finding this out and in discovering many other mediums of forceful expression which are bound to escape the attention of a layman. The moment they do find them we shall have passed the experimental stage and entered upon the enjoyment of a growing and expanding art, and then a national Jewish music will no longer be an ideal but a reality. Let us hope that this day is not far distant.

Joseph Reider

Digitized by Google

"Jewish Contributions to Civilization"

By A. A. Roback
Department of Psychology, Harvard University

NOT since Bernard Lazare's *L'Antisémitisme,* published in an English translation about seventeen years ago, has there appeared a work dealing with some phase of the Jewish mind that is at once as elucidating and as broad in its scope as the posthumous volume of Joseph Jacobs entitled *Jewish Contributions to Civilization.** Dr. Ruppin's *The Jews of To-day* is scarcely more than a handbook covering our own period only, and even as a handbook it is not altogether reliable, considering that Thomas Edison is spoken of as a Jew—an error which was not corrected by Miss Bentwich, who translated the book into English, and which was apparently overlooked by Joseph Jacobs, whose interesting introduction to Dr. Ruppin's book already contains the nucleus of his last work. In the same way Israel Cohen's *Jewish Life in Modern Times,* though chock-full of information, does not make its aim to *interpret* the Jew, but rather discusses, in a journalistic vein, the Jewish situation at the present time, considered in its several phases. Dr. Fishberg's socio-anthropological study of the Jews, while a tribute to his industry and painstaking methods of research, misses the whole point of his investigation. With him it was a case of not seeing the forest because of the trees. Pinning his faith to the fallen star of historical materialism, he lost sight of the scientific firmament above him which had been changing its hue for the last quarter of a century. The one recent attempt to approach Joseph Jacobs' task was made by Mendel Silber in his *Jewish Achievement,* but this author fell short of his mark. His treatment of the subject is neither as adequate nor as accurate as it might be, and, in some respects, it resembles Sir John Foster's farrago, pompously named *The Conquering Jew*—a rather ambivalent title.

It is to be expected of course that a man who was engaged for about thirty years in researches on the comparative distribution of Jewish ability, originally begun under the guidance of and in association with Sir Francis Galton, would turn out a work of more than passing importance. Unfortunately Jacobs did not live to complete his arduous labor, and only the first of the three books that he had contemplated publishing was left in printable form. From the prefatory note to the volume, presumably written by the editor, it appears that "the second book was to be devoted to the evaluation of the contributions of individual Jews to modern European culture," while the third book was to discuss the value of Jews in the modern cultural state. The second book, in the opinion of the reviewer, would have been the most

* Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1919.

Digitized by Google

significant of the three, especially as this subject has not been treated systematically, and such discussions as have appeared on the influence of individual Jews have as a rule been vitiated by sweeping generalizations due to the bias of the writer to make almost everything of importance center about the topic discussed. When, accordingly, we are told that a number of notes have been found in connection with Book II, can we anticipate anything less than that an editor would be engaged for the elaboration of the material and subsequent publication of a second volume such as the late author had originally planned?

The Noblesse Oblige of the Jewish Race

THE Introduction of the work, consisting of 58 pages, is really the keynote of the whole volume. In substance as well as in style this part is superior to the rest of the book. It is here that the general basis of Jacobs' viewpoint is outlined. The impression conveyed, at least to the reviewer, is that he has, in this his last work, taken up a more nationalistic position with regard to his people than he held at the time he was connected with the Jewish Encyclopedia. The opening sentence is in itself an indication that he believed the Jews to be a national or racial group quite distinct from all other peoples; and his plea for the comparative fixity of Jewish racial characteristics (pp. 45-46) will, let us hope, serve to check the advance of such views as have been put forth by Dr. Fishberg.

The first chapter dealing with the spiritual influence of the ancient Jews is a bit too trite and apologetic, but there is one passage in the chapter which is so appealing in form and so lofty in sentiment that we can scarcely resist the temptation to quote it here. Touching upon the question of European indebtedness to Israel and its repayment, Jacobs gives expression to the following exhortation (for that is what it really amounts to): "I am more concerned to state that there has never been any claims by Jews for any such payment; nor would such claim be justified. Nor would it be politic; gratitude to one individual for favors received is nominally tempered by resentment against the scheme of things which causes the necessity for receiving favors. If Mr. Popakopoulus, who does me the honor to blacken my shoes occasionally, attempts to skimp his work or cheat me out of my change, I am not inclined to regard his lapses with more leniency because he may possibly have within his veins some of the blood of an Æschylus or a Plato. So, too, if Pietro Vivanti sells me inedible fruit or does not carry through a piece of work he has agreed to do, I should remain unaffected by his pleadings (which he is scarcely likely to make) that he is descended from Lucretius or Horace. Just in the same way Mr. Abromsky, or Mr. Isaacstein, or let us even say Mr. Jacobs, has no diploma entitling him to do inefficient work or a piece of underhand trickery because he may be a direct descendant of Samuel or Hosea. In fact, in all these cases, the possession of so illustrious a pedigree only creates the greater disappointment if its possessors fall short of the current standards of manners or morals found in the ordinary citizen. *Noblesse oblige* should be the slogan of noble races as well as of noble families."

Digitized by Google

How can we help applauding this excellent plea, especially when we recall the fact that "All Jews stand sponsor for one another," a dictum which is subscribed to in practice by those particularly who are in the habit of telling the fortunate one who happens to be an acquaintance of theirs that he is so different from all the rest of the Jews?

Jewish Influence in the Middle Ages

PERHAPS the chief value of the second chapter on the Church and the Jews consists in its epitomizing qualities rather than in the facts and inferences which the author lays before us. The relationship between Christianity and Judaism has been dealt with by numerous specialists almost exhaustively, and Dr. Jacobs does not offer any strikingly new observations. The *rationale* of the chapter is evidently the thesis that the Jews should not suffer civic discrimination on any theological grounds, because, in the first place, Christianity is an offspring of Judaism and secondly, how can one be certain as to the absolute truth of a dogma? But really such an apology is out of place in the twentieth century. What intelligent person is so blissfully naïve as to suppose that in our age Jews have been discriminated against on theological grounds? To be sure, difference of creed has figured as an ostensible reason for the various disabilities that have fallen to the lot of the Jews. We may be certain, however, that those who were responsible for the restrictions against the Jews on religious principles would fail to be convinced by Jacobs' rather commonplace arguments. To argue in our age for the right of belief, and in a serious tone, is nothing short of an anachronism.

In the next three chapters, Jacobs is in his own element. Here we find the historical sense which the author possessed in a high degree stamped over the whole train of thought which carries us through the Middle Ages into the period of the Renaissance, revealing before us, as we are borne along, the part played by the Jews as intermediaries and the influence exercised by the greater Jewish lights upon their contemporaries. In our estimation, the chapter on the influence of Jewish thought in the Middle Ages, sketchy as it is, constitutes the most significant part of the volume. It is in these pages that Jacobs has given us a compact summary of Jewish achievement during the period when Jewish influences were generally supposed to have been at an ebb. Moderate as the author is, as a rule, in his assertions, he occasionally allows himself to lapse into or, perhaps better, to soar to semi-romantic moods, due probably to certain suggestive associations uninhibited by careful analysis. This is natural with everyone who is anxious to prove a particular thesis on the basis of analogies and parallels.

Jewish Thinkers and Jewish Martyrs

THERE can hardly be any doubt that upon thorough revision the footnote on p. 178 would have been eliminated by the author; for it is difficult to see how "the infinity of attributes may be regarded as a premonition of the recognition by modern mathematicians of the infinity of non-Euclidean spaces."

Digitized by Google

Spinoza himself would scarcely have been willing to make of his God merely an infinity of non-existences or conceptual entities, and modern mathematicians would surely have arrived at the conception of non-Euclidean space without such impetus as may be derived from a phrase like "infinity of attributes." The difference between Spinoza's attributes of God or Substance and hyper-geometric space in *n* dimensions is that the former had actual existence, though we with our finite mental constitution could grasp no more than two of them, viz., thought and extension, while non-Euclidean space on the other hand can be conceived only though it is nothing factual. Hence it would be fatal to Spinoza's whole system of philosophy to read into his concept of attribute a dimensional interpretation.

Another instance of Jacobs' romanticism is to be found on the very next page where he discusses the influence of Jewish martyrdom on men like Roger Bacon, Lully, Bruno, and Servetus, who "must have been supported in their struggle with the Church by the consciousness that they were not risking more than the Jewish thinkers with whom each of them was, at some time in his life, acquainted." The conclusion to be drawn then is that the very persecution of the Jews served a good purpose, as if thinkers like Giordano Bruno needed stimulating examples before they could take up a firm stand on matters of conscience, and as if the early history of Christianity could not offer a plentiful supply of such examples, if any were needed. Minds that have martyr stuff in them require no prodding to abide by their convictions, but even if they did, Jacobs' statement is at best a conjecture, not an hypothesis even, since no problem has presented itself for solution. The case may or may not have been as Jacobs suggests. In the absence, however, of any direct evidence taken, say, from the writings of Roger Bacon or Bruno, we are not warranted in setting up such a purely problematic thesis.

Capitalism and Socialism

"JEWS and Commerce" and "Jews and Capitalism" are the titles of the next two chapters. One wonders after reading Sombart's bulky work on Jews and Capitalism whether anything more can be said on that subject by a contemporary, but it appears that Jacobs has given a more objective, even if all too brief, account of the Jew's place in the development of modern capitalism than did the German economist. In fact, his *excursus* on Sombart is an excellent refutation of the latter's far-fetched views on the subject.

The chapter on the break-down of the Church-Empire is historical in character, but the next and final chapter in the book* tends to be interpretative. The liberal and socialistic leanings of the Jew are discussed here with considerable insight re-enforced by, or perhaps rather derived from, a copious stock of illustrations. Much of what is said on that head has already been elaborately treated by Bernard Lazare in his work on Antisemitism, but it seems that Jacobs has taken up the thread just where Lazare let it drop. The brilliant Franco-Jewish scholar was planning to bring out a thorough study of the part the Jews played in revolutionary movements, but death snatched

*First published in THE MENORAH JOURNAL for December, 1915.

Digitized by Google

this man of genius at the early age of thirty-eight before he had time to engage in the contemplated task.

Limitations of a Significant Book

JEWISH Contributions to Civilization is a popular work written in a journalistic style. It naturally lacks the elegance of expression and precision to be found in most of Jacobs' other works which have had the advantage of his revising hand. If we are to introduce the Jamesian distinction between *knowledge by acquaintance* and *knowledge by description*, we should say that his knowledge of the Jew was of the latter type. He knew a world *about* the Jews but he was not conversant with the Jew as such. Yiddish to him is an archaic German. The Ghetto Jew he would treat as a *subject* for the purpose of *study* rather than as a personality to be *understood*. In order to be able to interpret the Jew, one must study him while he is still in the shell, if the metaphor is not too offensive. How much more valuable our results when we have before us a live specimen as compared with a fossil on the basis of which we are to reconstruct our species! Hence it is that in spite of his breadth of view and versatility, Jacobs could not be regarded as a perspicacious historian or interpreter of the Jewish people. His views are sane enough, but they have not been carried to the root of the matter.

A. A. Roback

"A Gentle Cynic"*

By Max Radin

Professor of Law, University of California

WE may recall a graceless prince who looked over the tavern-bill of that eminent soldier, wit and master of life, Sir John Falstaff, and exclaimed, "Oh, monstrous, a pennyworth of bread to such a deal of sack!" That is normally the thought that occurs to most of us in regard to modern editions of notable ancient books,—the bread being the text, and the introduction and notes being the sack. So, in this presentation of the wisdom of Koheleth, there are, first, 195 pages of preliminary explanations, to which are appended forty pages, half of which again, are devoted to text, and another half to notes upon the text. The ancient Koheleth, from his comfortable quarters either upon Sambatyon or on the banks of Pishon, may well marvel that a mere difference of two thousand years and five or six thousand miles necessitates so elaborate an apparatus to make his words intelligible.

* *A Gentle Cynic, Being the Book of Ecclesiastes.* By Morris Jastrow, Jr. Philadelphia; Lippincott, 1919.

Digitized by Google

However, we are fortunate that in this case, the sack has not merely the stimulating qualities that good sack should have, but contains a quantity of solid and nutritious matter in solution—something that the best sack is not required to do. The preliminary essay does not merely prepare the reader for Koheleth but gives Dr. Jastrow's conclusions on such general topics as the growth of the canon, ancient theories of authorship, the development of certain important religious beliefs, the influence of the Bible, the interaction of Greek and Hebrew thought, and other things. It is, indeed, much less an introductory essay than a *specimen doctrinal*, and the doctrine is, in the main, sound and well documented.

The Wisdom of Koheleth

WHAT Dr. Jastrow has left of Koheleth, "stripped," as he says, "of subsequent interpolations, maxims and comments," is not a great deal. The book as it appears in our Bibles is not a long one, but as it appears in this version it is very short and would not detain long those congregations to whom it might be read.

Dr. Jastrow's stripping is not done at random. Certain passages, he holds, merely repeat what others have said. Some are introductory, others plainly apologetic, many inconsistent with specific passages undoubtedly genuine and with the main purpose of the book. All these are excided. The arguments for each excision vary, of course, in force and quantity. And there can be no doubt that an ideal book would contain no merely introductory or tautologous matter, would not apologize for over-bold assertion, would neither ramble nor contradict itself, but go unswervingly to its object unobstructed by verbiage or circumlocution. But alas, ideal books were in all probability as rare between 300 and 100 B. C. E. as they are in 1919; and gentlemen of the quill have been known to be indubitably authentic and yet repetitious, involved and contradictory. That certain particular phrases or paragraphs in Koheleth are so plainly and incurably in contradiction with others that they cannot have been written by the same man would be hard to prove. It is a question of greater or less probability, and different critics will estimate it differently.

Dr. Jastrow is far from being alone in his views. Indeed, as far as the critical side of his work is concerned, he scarcely claims originality for his acceptance or rejection of the traditional beliefs about the book.

Where Greek Meets Hebrew

MOST of us do not need to be convinced that Koheleth was not Solomon. Some of the Tannaim did not believe that,—and a skepticism based upon such formidable authority as R. Judah and R. Jose is almost a form of orthodoxy. Whether Koheleth wrote in the third or almost at the end of the second century B. C. E.,—as Professor Haupt believes,—is really immaterial, since few Biblical critics fail to place his book within the range of Greek influence.

On that point every critic of Koheleth must take a definite position. We may call his doctrine pessimism or, with Dr. Jastrow, a gentle cynicism. The

Digitized by Google

essential matter is whether it is primarily Hebrew or Greek in its inspiration. The author discusses that particularly in pages 147-152, and comes to a conclusion which many readers will readily accept. The Greek influences are there, but the book is none the less the product of an individual, thoroughly Jewish, mind,—whose attitude and approach to life has much to challenge the sympathy of our own age, as of many similar epochs in the intellectual history of the West.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Jastrow used the word cynicism at all. In the discussion of Greek philosophic thought, inevitable to any examination of Koheleth, the word suggests a definite philosophic trend that was as markedly scholastic as Stoicism, Epicureanism, Academicism and the like. Now Koheleth was not of the school of Diogenes or Antisthenes. Nor had he much of the attitude of that looser mocker of established things, Menippus of Gadara, whom he might not impossibly have known. Perhaps he derives from Pyrrho. Perhaps he was an eclectic and dilettante. It is no great matter what label is attached to him. But cynicism, in the narrow sense, can scarcely have attracted a gentleman as physically fastidious as he plainly was.

Scholarship in Popular Form

DR. JASTROW has a number of interesting things to say on ancient authorship in general and about the manner in which interpolations crept into texts that were in many persons' hands. Discovering interpolations was, side by side with "geistreiche Kombinationen," the favorite intellectual diversion of academic Germany in the era now closed. The greatest admirer of German intellectual effort will scarcely deny that they have put it on a bit thick. But of course texts were freely interpolated,—freely, that is, from our point of view, according to which writers have legal property in the words they have put down and may protect their rights drastically by injunctions and bills in equity for sequestration and accounting. Ancient law knew of no such property. And yet interpolating and expanding books of known authorship—even if the author concealed his name—was not quite the simple matter Dr. Jastrow would have it appear. One may refer to that admirable scholar, Lehrs, whose book on Aristarchius' *Methods of Homeric Criticism* (*De Aristarchi Studiis Homericis*) published in 1833, contains a chapter on this very topic (pp. 348-365),—which chapter modern investigators of interpolation might profitably read. Lehrs, it is true, was a German, but he died so many years ago that one may cite him without, it is hoped, incurring the animadversion of the American Defense Society.

Dr. Jastrow's book is very attractively presented. It is popular in style,—I had almost said too popular. It seems to him necessary to explain that Philo was an Alexandrian Jewish philosopher about the time of Jesus. And it may be that his eagerness to throw off completely the cloak of academic dignity, which he wears so well in his many contributions to ancient Oriental history, is responsible for what seems to me a slight touch of banality of expression. If I may indulge my personal spleen at a particular phrase, I should say that the frequently occurring *nom de plume* is objectionable in that

Digitized by Google

it is neither French nor English and has the additional demerit of displacing the excellent term pseudonym,—which, being Greek, is both French and English.

But cavilling of this sort is scarcely of value. Dr. Jastrow has produced an excellent book which will doubtless be widely and profitably read.

Max Radin

David Pinski's "Temptations"

By Sidney L. Nyburg

Author of "The Chosen People"

UNDER the title *Temptations* (Brentano's, 1919) there has been collected eight stories by David Pinski in an English version prepared by Isaac Goldberg. The translator has given us a text of much grace and clarity, and the stories themselves,—far from being restricted in their appeal to the reader of Jewish extraction—are worthy of study by everyone interested in the technique and development of the modern short story.

In every one of these tales the author has focused his attention upon the portrayal of human character with little or no stressing of incident. Events—important and interesting events—do occur in his pages, but they are skilfully and deliberately forced into a remote background, and all of the light and color of the story-teller's art is devoted by him to the men and women who live in his narratives. And in most of these stories they do live most vividly. There is something strangely universal about Pinski's art. There is nothing strikingly original about any of his plots. Indeed, each of them is vaguely reminiscent of some other masterpiece long since recognized as one of the world's standard stories. Yet the final result obtained by the Yiddish author is in every case so marked in its individuality as to justify triumphantly his boldness in risking comparison with the greatest names in literature.

Beruriah—"*A Jewish Imogene*"

CONSIDER, for example, "Beruriah," the first story in the collection and a bit of work one finds it difficult to praise enough, so beautiful is its poetic atmosphere, and so wonderfully well drawn its leading character. Beruriah is a Jewish Imogene, and if she lacks some measure of the winsomeness of Shakespeare's heroine, she compensates fully for this lack by a dignity of soul and an intensity of feeling of which we know the charming British girl was completely incapable.

Digitized by Google

In the same manner the stories of "Rabbi Akiba" and "Johanan the High Priest" awaken memories of Flaubert and Anatole France, but the analogy ceases as soon as the reader's attention is directed away from the mere incident of temptation approaching men of holy life and toward the psychic reaction to human experience. There is something immeasurably touching in the tragic tolerance toward life unfolded at the end of "Johanan" as the fruit of the author's contemplation of life and sin.

To such readers as myself the best of these stories are undoubtedly "Beruriah" and "Zerubbabel," in the second of which the author strikes an amazingly clear note of passion and heroism. This tale in its few pages portrays something much bigger and more significant than appears on the surface. We have here the age-long struggle between pure idealism and expediency. In this glowing tale all of youth and longing for impossible deeds of righteous valor are dashing themselves against the iron bars of worldly wisdom and prudence.

Much less successful, it seems to me, are the so-called "proletarian tales." Here Pinski challenges comparison with Maxim Gorky and his innumerable imitators, and not always with conspicuous success. Nor does this seem difficult to explain. Pinski's claim to greatness rests primarily upon a sense of poetic beauty. It is that which lifts Beruriah and Zerubbabel out of the millions of stories of mere ephemeral value and which should secure them a place in that literature which does not pass out of human recollection. In his proletarian sketches he consciously sets out to paint squalor, and as if to harmonize with his subjects he deliberately tosses away all grace and charm of his own manner. The result may be of value, photographically speaking, but it lacks the touch of genius which moves us to such deep admiration and gratitude in his less self-denying work.

Sidney L Nyburg

"The Book of the Nations"*

By Lotta Levensohn

"MISS SAMPTER had already attracted my attention by her lyrics. But this book is still more remarkable, showing, as it does, the Jewish reaction to the doings of contemporary Christendom. The biblical form seems the natural expression of a Jewish soul saturated with the old prophetic literature of the race. Its criticism is in the true prophetic vein, and must

*_The Book of the Nations_ (_Sefer ha-Goyim_). Transcribed by Jessie E. Sampter. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

Digitized by Google

strike a responsive chord in the hearts of all true Christians. This book is the latest and not the least remarkable link in the long chain of Hebrew prophecy."

So reads Mr. Zangwill's estimate of "The Book of the Nations," an interpretation of the Great War by Jessie E. Sampter. This writer views the conflict of races and empires as Isaiah and Jeremiah in their day looked upon the mighty contests of Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt for world-dominion—*sub specie aeternitatis:* "I shall destroy the nations with their own weapons, saith the Lord. I shall set them upon one another because they have hated one another. And each will cry out: *I have been attacked, I am innocent.*" It seems natural indeed that this old-Hebraic judgment upon the twentieth century cataclysm should find expression in the forms of biblical poetry. The structural outlines of the legends of the Deluge and the Tower of Babel are used to frame an indictment of the political and economic iniquities that inevitably forced the nations down into the abyss of destruction. France, Germany, and England are apostrophized in the true prophetic manner. The race for empire, the oppression of lesser and weaker peoples, the serfdom of the industrial workers, are analyzed with almost surgical incisiveness.

The argument that nationalism is at the root of all the evils of the time is skillfully countered with a picture of the monotony of a provincial world without varied national cultures, where music, language, literature, art and religion were each cast in a single mould. Not nationalism, but imperialism, is the heaven-crying iniquity.

Israel and the Nations

THEN, closely following the biblical model, attention is turned from humanity gone astray to the people Israel. "I said: Thou hast chosen a nation to know thy law and to redeem the nations. When Europe nourished hordes of barbarous tribes, when Asia walled itself apart from all thy peoples, when Egypt dreamed only of conquest and Babylonia of world dominion, thou didst set aside a little people and thou didst say: This nation shall endure forever as a surety for the life of nations. It shall be my redeemer to the nations of the world, until swords shall be beaten into plowshares and the strong nations shall deal justly with the weak, as the lion grazing beside the kid, and all the nations of men shall be a brotherhood to walk in the way of the Lord."

But the former prince denies his high estate, he has become sleek with much gold. Yet, are there not a few thousand pioneers in the Promised Land, and a few hundred thousand faithful who heeded the call of the Lord's messenger, Herzl? In a remarkable paraphrase of Abraham's plea for the few righteous men of Sodom, the Judge of all the earth is asked to accept those who have remembered His covenant and eagerly await to fulfill it.

The era of reconciliation for all the peoples is at hand. "And this shall be for a sign: That the nations shall set you in your land. . . . And in your midst they will build the palace of peace, and the temple of justice."

Digitized by Google

Humanity is called upon to fight with a potent, but little used weapon that "will slay war and waste forever." "Have you not within you the sword of the spirit wherewith to conquer the whole world?"

The book—scroll would be an apter term—closes on the triumphal note of Isaiah's vision of universal peace.

"For the day dawneth."

Ludka Lewisohn

New Publications of Interest

[*Any of the publications named below may be ordered through the* MENORAH SERVICE DEPARTMENT—*in some instances, at a discount from the regular price. Books of exceptional interest are likely to be reviewed at length in subsequent numbers of* THE MENORAH JOURNAL.]

AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK, 5680 (1919-1920). Phila., Jewish Publication Society of America.

BENTWICH, Norman: *Palestine of the Jews, Past, Present, and Future.* London and New York, Dutton.

DUBNOW, S. M.: *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland.* Vol. III. Phila., Jewish Publication Society of America.

GOODMAN, Paul: *A History of the Jews.* New York, Dutton. (An American reprint of the best short history of the Jews in English.)

GROSSMANN, Louis: *The Aims of Teaching in Jewish Schools.* A Handbook for Teachers. With introduction by G. Stanley Hall. Cincinnati, Teachers' Institute, Hebrew Union College.

NEUMANN, David: *The Philosophy of the Bible.* Cincinnati, Ark Publishing Co.

FRANK, Waldo: *Our America.* (Contains interesting chapter on the Jew in America.) New York, Boni & Liveright.

SCHAPIRO, J. Salwyn: *Modern and Contemporary European History.* Boston, Houghton Mifflin. (Unrivaled as a one-volume history of the period; devotes considerable space to the Jewish phases.)

RAVAGE, M. E.: *The Jew Pays.* (The War's toll in Eastern Europe.) New York, Knopf.

Digitized by Google

The A. E. F. Menorah in France

By Joel L. Miller

JOEL L. MILLER, born in London, England, 1895, was educated in the schools of Malden, Mass., and at Harvard (A.B. 1916), where he was a member of the Menorah Society. He served in the A. E. F., as sergeant, from April, 1918, to July, 1919, and was instructor in Americanization in the A. E. F. University at Beaune, President of the Enlisted Instructors' Club, and President of the A. E. F. Menorah which he describes in this article.

IN the A. E. F. University at Beaune, France, in the heart of Burgundy and in the midst of historic traditions, an A. E. F. University Menorah Society has flourished almost since the opening of the University. Conceived at a Friday evening service conducted by Rabbi H. G. Enelow, Jewish chaplain of the University, the movement gained impetus at a gathering for the Seder services held in the rooms of the Jewish Welfare Board. Colonel Ira L. Reeves, the president of the University, heartily endorsed the idea of an organization to study Jewish problems, and allowed it the use of the Engineering Lecture Hall for meetings, with the publicity facilities of the University.

The preliminary meeting was attended by seven, but although the number was small, there was a feature of the attendance which predicted success for the organization, namely, the composite membership. There was a rabbi and a member of the army educational corps and soldiers from privates to captains. As the membership increased, this composite association became more and more an evidence of the constructive work of the society. Welfare workers and army nurses were added to the membership, and the lecture hall every Tuesday night became a haven for those interested in a genuine study of Jewish problems.

After a brief temporary organization the permanent organization was effected with the following officers:

Rabbi H. G. Enelow, New York City, Hon. President.
Sgt. Joel L. Miller, Malden, Mass., President.
Capt. Albert A. Shapira, Boston, Mass., Vice President.
Pvt. 1st Cl. Bernard I. Raych, Buffalo, N. Y., Sec'y-Treasurer.

Digitized by Google

A Keenly Interested and Spirited Membership

THE meetings began at 6.15 P. M. and lasted until 8.15, in time for the students to report at their barracks for study period. The average attendance at the beginning of the meeting was twenty, but before the meeting ended this number increased considerably. Despite the various functions of the University which conflicted with Menorah meetings, the organization thrived and gained in strength as the weeks went by. The interest and the spirit of intelligent study manifested were astonishing. The policy of the organization was to announce subjects two weeks prior to their consideration. There was a library committee to provide the reading material necessary for the study of the subject, and a program committee to direct the work of the society. After the leader's paper, each member was called upon to express his views. By this method the society was enabled to hear the sentiments of young men who never before had attempted to discuss Jewish problems. One of the men who lived in Arizona, in his talk at one of the meetings, told about his living in a community where Jewish affairs were never considered, but the experiences he had undergone and his associations with the Menorah had made him realize the necessity for the study of Jewish problems and he became one of the most enthusiastic workers. Those who had been interested in Jewish affairs in civilian life found a field for renewed activities at the Menorah meetings, and the subjects discussed need but be mentioned as evidence of the warmth and vigor with which the American Jewish soldiers studied the problems of their people.

The first topic chosen was "Reconstruction and the Returning Jewish Soldiers." This discussion was led by Capt. Albert A. Shapira and was considered earnestly by the members present. The consensus of opinion was that the returning Jewish soldier should not only study the problems of the Jews but should consider himself a sort of missionary in his community to urge the Jewish people to study and become enlightened on modern Jewish problems. The questions of unemployment and the labor situation were mentioned, but in comparison with the vital question of Jewish Reconstruction neither received much attention.

Serious Study and Discussion of Jewish Problems

THE second topic discussed was "The Future Function of the Synagogue," led by Sgt. Joel L. Miller. On this occasion there was clearly evidenced the fact that Judaism has a message to deliver to the world and that Jewish men from all parts of the United States representing both "orthodox" and "reform" ideas desired to make a study of the synagogue and its position in the life of the American Jew. The

Digitized by Google

dominant idea of the meeting was to reach a conception of a synagogue which would win the approval of the Jews of America. It was the opinion of the men that only by making the synagogue a community center, with schools, clubs, and lectures, could it hope to achieve its purpose as the pivot in Jewish life.

The third topic was "Zionism and the Future of the Jew." The leader of this discussion, Pvt. 1st Cl. B. M. Siegel, stated that the achievement of Zionism ushers in a new epoch in the history of Jews. With the re-establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, the spiritual and cultural revival of Israel is assured. Palestine as the center of Jewish institutions will serve as a beacon not only to the Jews of the world but also to humanity as a whole. The idea of a Jewish homeland met with the enthusiastic approval of the Jewish soldiers who had endured the harrowing experiences of war in the hope that Israel would be free as a result of their efforts.

The fourth topic discussed was "Social Reform and the Jew." Lieut. D. Polier, the leader of the discussion, spoke forcibly on the vital question of labor and its effect on Jewish thought and ideas. He pointed out that the principles of humanity entwined in Judaism must be the principles to be applied in measures of social reform. This was the contribution which Judaism offered to America at a time when the country needed its service in reconstruction.

The fifth meeting consisted of a general résumé of Menorah work and Jewish problems. It was led by Lieut. S. E. Davidson, who emphasized the need of physical development among the Jews. Our minds have too often been developed at the expense of our bodies and this is a situation which is becoming serious. He urged the synagogues to develop their social functions and have the young men encouraged to organize athletic clubs with the privilege of meeting in the synagogue. Jewish service to America can only be made effective by comprehensive study of Jewish problems as embodied in the ideals of the Menorah, and developing the physique to assume these responsibilities. The members participating in the discussion heartily endorsed the speaker's views and expressed the belief that the future of Judaism depended upon a thorough grasp of its problems, especially the function of the synagogue.

An Extraordinary Menorah Dinner

WITH the aid of several New York friends of Dr. Enelow and the Associated Y. M. H. A.'s of New England, the society was enabled to end its activities with a Menorah dinner. It was held at the Jewish Welfare Board Club Rooms, which are situated in the center of the city of Beaume. Mr. L. L. Shapiro, local director of the Jewish Welfare

Digitized by Google

Board, had the rooms beautifully decorated with the various divisional insignias and streamers. A large wooden model of a Menorah encased in gold paper was placed at the head of the table with a light playing on it reflecting the spirit of the occasion. The dinner was attended by eighty-five men and seven women. Included among the men were Colonel Ira L. Reeves, President of the A. E. F. University, and Mr. Geo. S. Hellman, Director of the College of Fine and Applied Arts at the University. The women guests were members of the Army Nurses Corps and J. W. B. workers. The program was as follows:

Col. Ira L. Reeves—"The A. E. F. U. and the Future of Education in the Army."
Sgt. Joel L. Miller—"The Menorah and the Soldiers."
Mr. Geo. S. Hellman—"New Opportunities."
Lieut. D. Polier—"The Menorah and Social Progress."
Rabbi H. G. Enelow—"The Menorah and Judaism."
Toastmaster—Captain A. A. Shapira.

The speakers carried the tone of Americanism throughout their speeches. The aim of service to our country pervaded the atmosphere.

Col. Reeves sounded the keynote when he spoke about the need of education and its influence in training men from a military standpoint. He praised the Jewish young men for their endeavors in the field of education and service and urged the "Menorah Ideal," the spirit of enlightenment, for the preservation of American principles. The other speakers maintained the need of study in Jewish problems to preserve Judaism and make effective its contribution to American life.

Those who have seen the organization from its insignificant beginning feel with pride and satisfaction the culmination of its efforts. Their hope is to see the "Menorah Ideal" continued stronger than ever in the United States. The Jewish soldier has realized the need of the study of Jewish problems to help make permanent the civilization he fought for. He returns from the experience of war with a message of faith, urging study and enlightenment so that Judaism can fulfill its mission.

Joel L Miller

Digitized by Google

Self Determination For All Peoples

America undertook to defend Democracy and to promote Freedom throughout the world. For this end 75,000 died.

Yet the war aims are not won.

America kindled a great hope in the world. She is still in honor bound to continue to work for the freedom of those still oppressed.

Can America merely look on while:

1. *Armies of coercion occupy India, Egypt, Ireland, resorting to extreme military violence to repress peaceful protests against tyranny.*
2. *Military rule destroys civil liberty in Korea and employs mediæval tortures against men and women, boys and girls whose only crime is patriotism.*
3. *The sovereignty of Persia and China are compromised by force and intrigue.*
4. *New nations are encroaching upon their neighbors in direct violation of the principle of self determination. Roumania has committed atrocities as bad as any inflicted on Belgium.*
5. *Preventable pogroms of the Jews in the Ukraine and Denikin territory continue without the active interference of the Powers.*

Such imperialism serves to continue the demoralization of Europe and to sow seeds of future strife and disorder. America has the power to correct most of these abuses and speed the day of liberation for all peoples.

If you object to being even remotely a party to these frustrations of our national ideals and our avowed war aims

JOIN THE LEAGUE OF OPPRESSED PEOPLES

We have a practical program. Your help will count.

TEMPORARY OFFICERS

Chairman

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

FRANCIS HACKETT
OWEN R. LOVEJOY
DR. JAMES G. MYTHEN
ARTHUR UPHAM POPE
LALA LAJPAT RAI
DR GREGORY ZILBOORG

SPONSORS

MOHAMMED ABDOU
M. TOSCAN BENNET
MRS. HARRIET STANTON BLATCH
MRS. WILLIAM JOHNS BROWN
WITTER BYNNER
ABRAHAM CAHAN
LINCOLN COLCORD
PROF. HERBERT E. CORY
LINDSAY CRAWFORD, Canada
JAMES DUNCAN
EDWARD F. DUNNE
DR. WILL DURANT
W. E. B. DuBOIS
JOHN LOVEJOY ELLIOTT
CHARLES ERWIN
SARA BARD FIELD
JOHN FITZPATRICK
MRS. SIMEON FORD
GILSON GARDNER
REV. DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
FREDERIC HOWE
B. W. HUEBSCH
MARTYN JOHNSON
DR. H. M. KALLEN
MAJOR MICHAEL KELLY
HARRY W. LAIDLER
IRENE LEWISOHN
WILTON LACKAYE
PROF. ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
ALLEN McCURDY
RABBI JUDAH L. MAGNES
HELEN MAROT
JAMES H. MAURER
DR. WM. J. M. A. MALONEY
H. A. MILLER
ALBERT J. NOCK
PROF. HARRY A. OVERSTREET
AMOS PINCHOT
W. MARION REEDY
DR. GILBERT REID
GILBERT ROE
ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN
JOSEF STRANSKY
DR. J. T. SUNDERLAND
REV. DR. NORMAN THOMAS
SIGNE TOKSVIG
MAJOR RICHARD C. TOLMAN
BRANDON TYNAN
MRS. HENRY VILLARD
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
B. CHARNEY VLADECK
FRANK P. WALSH
FRANCES M. WITHERSPOON

(List Incomplete)

COMMITTEE FOR CHINA

NG POON CHEW
DR. L. H. HUANG
S. C. KIANG KANG-HU
MA-SOO

COMMITTEE FOR INDIA

ANANDY COOMARASWAMY
DR. N. S. HARDIKER
SURENDRA N. KARR
LALA LAJPATRAI
SHINIVAS R. WAGEL

COMMITTEE FOR IRELAND

HARRY BOLAND
PADRAIC COLUM
PATRICK McCARTEN
LIAM MELLOWS

Other Committees to be announced later

MILLIONS FOR FREEDOM
BUT NOT ONE CENT FOR OPPREESSION

LEAGUE OF OPPRESSED PEOPLES

DUDLEY FIELD MALONE, *Chairman*

Room 410. 50 East 42nd Street
New York City

I am in sympathy with the purposes and principles of the League and wish to be enrolled as a member. Enclosed find one dollar for membership, and .....as a subscription.

Name .....

Address.....

City and State.....

Digitized by Google

America's Opinion on Russia

Just Out

American Number

STRUGGLING RUSSIA

A Weekly Magazine Devoted to Russian Problems

CONTAINING ARTICLES AND STATEMENTS ON RUSSIA, PREPARED FOR THIS ISSUE BY

Ambassador David R. Francis, Hon. Elihu Root, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, Samuel Gompers, Jacob H. Schiff, Lawrence F. Abbott, George Kennan, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, James Duncan, John Spargo, J. G. Phelps Stokes, William English Walling, Major Stanley Washburn, Lydia Noble, Prof. A. L. Frothingham, Edmund Noble, Khyva St. Albans, Erving Winslow, Louise de Wetter, A. Hichle.

U. S. Senators: Hon. William H. King, Hon. Lawrence L. Sherman, Hon. Warren S. Harding, Hon. Charles S. Thomas, Hon. Robert L. Owen, Hon. Edwin S. Johnson, Hon. Lee S. Overman.

U. S. Congressmen: Hon. Walter H. Newton, Hon. Clement Brumbaugh, Hon. Isaac Siegel, Hon. James Husted, Hon. Edmund Platt, Hon. John J. Esch, Hon. John Raker, Hon. Frederick R. Lehlbach, Hon. C. A. Christopherson, Hon. V. D. Upshaw.

Editors: The Washington Morning Herald, The Los Angeles Times, Philadelphia Inquirer, Philadelphia Record, Baltimore News, Waterbury American, Brooklyn Daily Eagle, Jewish Daily The Day, The Chicago Tribune, Buffalo Times, Buffalo Courier, Cincinnati Enquirer, Kansas City Star, Kansas City Post, Detroit Free Press, Denver Post, The Union Labor Bulletin, The Miner's Magazine, Rochester Democrat and Chronicle, The Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph, Minneapolis Journal, Indianapolis Star, Des Moines Register, St. Louis Republic, The St. Louis Globe-Democrat, The Muskegon Chronicle, Cleveland News, Cleveland Sunday News Leader, Seattle Times, Seattle Star, San Francisco Bulletin, The Portland Oregonian, The Macon Telegraph, The Wassau Daily Record-Herald, The Springfield Laborer.

Cables from the Russian Telegraphic Agency in Omsk.

Russian Documents. (Among others—"Admiral Kolchak on the Jewish Problem.")

64 pages of text, and 10 pages of illustrations

Price 20 cents. Order from the

Russian Information Bureau in the U. S.

Woolworth Building, New York City

Digitized by Google

THE MENORAH JOURNAL

Published Bi-monthly By
The Intercollegiate Menorah Association
"For the Study and Advancement of Jewish Culture and Ideals"
600 Madison Avenue, New York

Editor-in-Chief	*Managing Editor*	*Secretary-Treasurer*
HENRY HURWITZ	H. ASKOWITH	BERNARD J. REIS

VOLUME V OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1919 NUMBER 5

CONTENTS

		PAGE
JUDAISM AS A WORLD RELIGION . . .	*Claude G. Montefiore*	241
WHAT I SAW IN LITHUANIA	*Sholom Asch*	253
THE ORDEAL *A Poem*	*Martin Feinstein*	268
THE HEBREW POETS AS HISTORIANS . *With Translations by the Author*	*Nina Salaman*	269
IF GOD HAD KNOWN *A Poem*	*Hortense Flexner*	279
A REVIVAL OF JEWISH MUSIC . . . . *(Concluded)*	*Joseph Reider*	280
"JEWISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO CIVILIZATION"	*A. A. Roback*	288
"A GENTLE CYNIC"	*Max Radin*	292
DAVID PINSKI'S "TEMPTATIONS" .	*Sidney L. Nyburg*	295
"THE BOOK OF THE NATIONS" . .	*Lotta Levensohn*	296
THE A. E. F. MENORAH IN FRANCE . .	*Joel L. Miller*	299

35 cents a copy. Subscription, $2.00 a year; in Canada, $2.25; abroad, $2.50

Copyright, 1919, by The Intercollegiate Menorah Association. All rights reserved

Entered as second class matter January 6, 1915, at the New York Post Office under the Act of March 5, 1879

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, Authorised on August 1, 1918

For Advertising Rates, Address The Menorah Journal, 600 Madison Avenue, New York

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

Owing to the serious delay caused by the Printers' strike in New York, the October number could not be published until December. and it has seemed best, therefore, to date the issue October-December. To make up for this loss of one issue, every subscription will be extended two months, so as to include one additional number. The next issue will be the February number.

Digitized by Google

WHAT THE CRITICS SAY ABOUT .

TEMPTATIONS

By the Famous Dramatist

DAVID PINSKI

The stories themselves retain in translation unusual qualties of originality, both in conception and in treatment.—*New York Evening Sun.*

Short stories by a dramatist who has received the highest praise from Professor Baker of Harvard. Very unusual stories of genuine brilliancy.—*The Spur, New York.*

Playing upon the mighty passions which lift men to the heights, or hurl them to the lowest depths, David Pinski, in Temptations, has laid bare strong souls in times of stress.—*Cincinnati Times-Star.*

Temptations once more proves that David Pinski is the great interpreter of Jewish life.—*New York Morning Sun.*

Now that this first volume of stories has served to introduce David Pinski to the English-reading public, let us hope the good work will be continued and more of his stories rendered available. For these tales are unusual and striking, varied in theme and treatment, and . . . possessed of fidelity to the fundamental traits of human nature. —*New York Times Book Review.*

TEMPTATIONS takes its name from the fact that every story in this book deals with a temptation—either in the spirit or in the flesh. These tales are among the masterpieces of fiction—they possess that rare beauty which is an indissoluble union of matter and manner. They are for men and women who read with the mind as well as the eye. At all booksellers. Cloth, 12mo, $1.50 net.

BRENTANOS, *Publishers,* 5th Ave. & 27th St., NEW YORK

PAST AND PRESENT

A Collection of Jewish Essays

By Dr. ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER

Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis at the Jewish Theological Seminary

PROFESSOR FRIEDLAENDER'S new book is of unusual variety and fascination. Among the historical essays are "The Political Ideal of the Prophets," "The Prophet Jeremiah," a novel and fascinating interpretation of this great biblical figure; "Moses Maimonides"; "The Messianic Idea in Islam," illustrating the profound influence which Judaism and Mohammedanism have exerted on each other, etc.

Among the essays dealing with present day questions are: "The Problem of Judaism in America," "Jewish Education in America," "The Present Crisis in American Jewry." "The Present Jewish Outlook in Russia," and others.

Zionism is treated in a number of illuminating studies, dealing with the subject both in its historic bearings, as, e. g., "Were Our Ancestors Capable of Self-Government?" or "Nationalism and Assimilation in Bible Times," or in its modern manifestations, such as "Palestine and the Diaspora," "Ahad Ha'am," "Race and Religion," "Zionism and Religious Judaism," etc.

Professor Friedlaender's new book is an essentially popular publication. It addresses itself to the wide class of general readers who wish to inform themselves about Jewish questions under a competent guide, but have neither the time nor the equipment to engage in technical studies. The volume of Professor Friedlaender, while based on the solid foundation of research, is free from all technical encumbrances, and is written in a captivating style. The author combines the wide perspective of the historian with the concrete sense of reality characteristic of the man engaged in public work. He has fully succeeded in accomplishing the task which he set before himself in this book: "to interpret the events of the past in the light of the present, and the problems of the present in the light of the past."

Printed on a Specially Made Paper of Highest Quality; Bound in Handsome Art Cloth.—Five Hundred Pages.

$2.50 sent Postpaid

ARK PUBLISHING COMPANY

CINCINNATI, OHIO

Kindly mention The Menorah Journal when writing to advertisers

Digitized by Google

A Masterpiece of Literature in a New Garb

"The finest Book of Biblical Criticism turning on one of the Greatest Poems of all times."—*N. Y. Sun.*

A GENTLE CYNIC

Being the Book of Koheleth, Commonly Known as Ecclesiastes. A New Translation, stripped of later additions, also the origin, growth, and interpretation of the book.

By MORRIS JASTROW, JR., PH.D., LL.D.

Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. Author of "The War and the Bagdad Railway," "The War and the Coming Peace," "The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria," etc.

Octavo Decorated Cloth, $2.00 Net

Professor Jastrow's new book was hailed by critics as one of "the books of the year." It marks a departure in the presentation of one of the literary masterpieces of antiquity to the public. This new translation of Ecclesiastes is a genuine discovery of the Biblical Omar Khayyam who, like the famous Persian poet, has set forth an attitude towards life in the form of a series of brilliant and witty causeries that have a modern flavor, though written over 2,000 years ago.

Read what the "gentle cynic" has to say of the purpose of life. He touches on a large variety of subjects—pleasure, knowledge, wealth, business, ambition, worship, justice, government and women. Preceding the translation Professor Jastrow tells the fascinating story of the growth of Ecclesiastes, how it was altered by later compilers who tried to give a more orthodox turn to some of the older utterances in the original book. He tells us who Koheleth was and why he adopted this strange *nom de plume.*

THE MACCABAEAN: "Here is a book that does at least two things well. In the first place, it gives a new translation of that famous book of the Bible called Koheleth, and gives it from a novel point of view that results in a greater unity of effect. In the second place, it affords an excellent introduction to higher criticism as it is today—liberal-minded but not bigoted, informed as to literary values, and thoroughly well-documented."

AT ALL BOOK STORES

Descriptive circular, with specimen page, mailed on request

J. B. LIPPINCOTT CO., Publishers, 227 South Sixth St., Philadelphia

IS America Aware of Its Idealistic Judaism?

One of the most brilliant chapters in recent literature is the appraisal of the Jewish contribution to America by

WALDO FRANK

IN

"OUR AMERICA"

the sensational book that has been discussed so warmly since the day of its publication, by the press and in the pulpit

"A modern miracle, a Mystery of America, a drama and a spilling of revelation."—Gibert Cannan in the *New York Times.*

"If you want to read today what the more enlightened radicals will be saying tomorrow, you will find nearly all of it in this volume. The book will be found a veritable storehouse of exceptionally brilliant national and literary criticism."—*San Francisco Bulletin.*

"Its interpretation of the Jews in America is exceptionally good."—*The New Republic.*

Buy your copy before the second edition is exhausted. At your bookseller's, or from the publishers.

$2.00 (postage 15c.) **105 West 40th St.**

BONI & LIVERIGHT NEW YORK

Kindly mention The Menorah Journal when writing to advertisers

Digitized by Google

B. Altman & Co.

Fashionable Outfits

for

the Winter season

on

The American Riviera

especially featuring

Chic Sports Clothes

for

Women, Misses and the
Younger Set

Madison Avenue - Fifth Avenue
34th and 35th Streets New York

Digitized by Google

INTERCOLLEGIATE MENORAH ASSOCIATION

For the Study and Advancement of Jewish Culture and Ideals

BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Justice IRVING LEHMAN, *Honorary Chairman*

JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER, *Chairman*
JACOB BILLIKOPF, *Treasurer*
Dr. A. M. DUSHKIN, *Secretary*
Prof. ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER
SAM A. LEWISOHN
Dr. H. M. KALLEN
Prof. I. LEO SHARFMAN
ISRAEL N. THURMAN
ARTHUR J. GOLDSMITH
Rabbi A. J. FELDMAN
M. L. GITELSON

OFFICERS

Chancellor
HENRY HURWITZ
600 Madison Avenue, New York

President
LOUIS I. NEWMAN
Columbia University

Vice-Presidents

For New York and Middle Atlantic States
HERMAN TRACHMAN
Columbia University

For New England
MRS. R. J. M. BLUMGART
Radcliffe College

For Southern States
GEORGE GINSBERG
Tulane University

For Central States
ISADOR LUBIN
University of Missouri

For Rocky Mountain States
ELI MILLER
University of Denver

For Pacific Coast States
BERT RABINOWITZ
University of California

Secretary-Treasurer BERNARD J. REIS, New York University

THE ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL

Consisting of Representatives from the Menorah Societies at the following Colleges and Universities:

Adelphi College
Albany College
Boston University
Brown University
Clark University
College of the City of New York
Columbia University
Cornell University
Emory University
Georgia School of Technology
Harvard University
Hunter College
McGill University
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Morningside College
New York University (Heights)
New York University (Square)
Oberlin College
Oglethorpe University
Ohio State University
Penn. State College
Radcliffe College
Reed College
Rice Institute
Rutgers College
Simmons College
Temple College
Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College
Tufts College
University of California
University of Chicago
University of Cincinnati
University of Colorado
University of Denver
University of Illinois
University of Iowa
University of Manitoba
University of Michigan
University of Minnesota
University of Missouri
University of Pennsylvania
University of Pittsburgh
University of South California
University of Texas
University of Toronto
University of Washington
University of Wisconsin
Wesleyan University
Western Reserve University
Yale University

Office of the Intercollegiate Menorah Association
600 Madison Avenue, New York

Digitized by Google

THE DROPSIE COLLEGE FOR HEBREW AND COGNATE LEARNING IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

A post-graduate institution leading to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The College offers instruction in Biblical and Rabbinical Literatures, in the Semitic Languages, and in Jewish History. In the admission of students there is no distinction on account of creed, color or sex. There is no tuition fee in the College.

Fellowships yielding Five Hundred Dollars annually have been established and will be awarded each year at the meeting of the Governors in the month of May.

For information concerning Degrees, Fellowships, Courses, etc., apply in writing to Dr. Cyrus Adler, President of the Dropsie College, S. E. Corner Broad and York Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.

Digitized by Google

THE JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF AMERICA

An institution of higher learning which prepares its students for the Rabbinical career, and is authorized to confer the degrees of Rabbi, Doctor of Divinity, and Doctor of Hebrew Literature.

The Seminary is situated in a commodious building, 531-535 West 123d Street, New York City. It has a valuable library consisting of 57,077 books and 1,828 manuscripts. A synagogue is connected with the Seminary in which the students are expected to deliver sermons.

Under its direction there is conducted a Teachers' Institute for the training of Teachers for Hebrew and Religious Schools.

For information concerning courses, scholarships, degrees, etc., apply in writing to Dr. Cyrus Adler, Acting President, 531 West 123d Street, New York City.

Digitized by Google

THE RABBI ISAAC ELCHANAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

An Institution devoted to the comprehensive study of Judaism and to the training of rabbis, conferring the Semicha (rabbinic ordination) upon its graduates.

Faculty

BERNARD REVEL, RABBI, M.A. (New York University), PH.D. (Dropsie College, *President of the Faculty and Instructor in Talmud and Codes.*

RABBI BENJAMIN AARONOWITZ
RABBI JOSEPH LEVINE
RABBI M. PREIL
RABBI S. GERSTENFELD
} *Talmud and Codes.*

H. PEREIRA MENDES, RABBI, M.D. (New York University), D.D. (Jewish Theological Seminary), *Homiletics.*

BERNARD DRACHMAN, RABBI, PH.D. (Heidelberg), *Pedagogy.*

SOLOMON T. H. HURWITZ, M.A., PH.D. (Columbia), *Hebrew and Aramaic Philology.*

MOSES SEIDEL, PH.D. (Berne), *Bible and Librarian.*
SOLOMON ZEITLIN, TH.D. (Paris), PH.D. (Dropsie), *Jewish History.*

The Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary is situated in the heart of the Jewish section of the City of New York, 9-11 Montgomery Street.

The Etz Chaim Talmudical Academy, chartered in the State of New York, 1886, is the Preparatory School of the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary and maintains a parochial elementary and high school department. The Yeshiba *Torah we-Emunah* in Baltimore, the Yeshiba *Mishkan Israel* in Philadelphia, and the Yeshiboth in Boston and Chicago, prepare students for admission to the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary.

For information concerning courses, scholarships, and graduation, apply in writing to Dr. B. Revel, 9-11 Montgomery Street, New York City.

Digitized by Google

THE JEW PAYS
By M. E. Ravage

A NARRATIVE of the consequences of the war to the Jews of Eastern Europe, and of the manner in which Americans have attempted to meet them.

To everyone who has contributed to the campaign fund, this book is of especial interest. It tells just what is being done with the money so collected.

With Six Illustrations from Photographs
$1.50 at all Book Shops

ALFRED A. KNOPF, PUBLISHER
NEW YORK

Max Schling Flowers
Schling Service
Nothing Better

FOR EVERY OCCASION

Delivered in New York within the hour. In other cities our bonded representatives await wired instructions to fill your order.

785 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK
PHONE PLAZA 7241

HAUSDORFF'S
Hotel Dolphin
the first house from the Beach on
ST. CHARLES PLACE
ATLANTIC CITY

All large, outside, airy rooms, single or en suite, with or without private bath, ocean view, hot and cold running water, electrically lighted throughout

Elevator to Street Level

Recommended by the leading Orthodox Rabbis as to strict observance of Dietary Laws

RATES ON APPLICATION

Kindly mention The Menorah Journal when writing to advertisers

Digitized by Google

HARDMAN PIANO

THE OFFICIAL PIANO OF THE METROPOLITAN OPERA COMPANY

HARDMAN, PECK & CO. FOUNDED 1842
433 FIFTH AVENUE-NEW YORK
BROOKLYN STORE-47-51 FLATBUSH AVE.

HILLS-

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

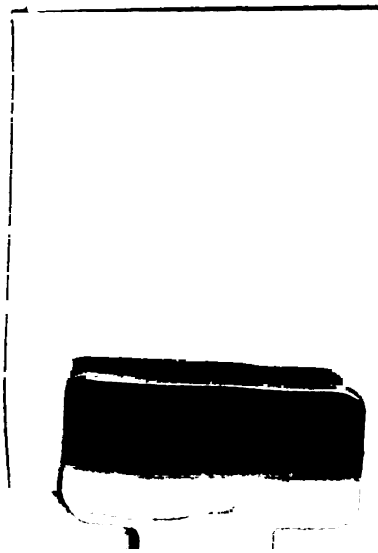
THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
GRADUATE LIBRARY

DATE DUE

Form 9384

Digitized by Google

BOUND
DEC 27 1922
UNIV. OF MICH.
LIBRARY



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google